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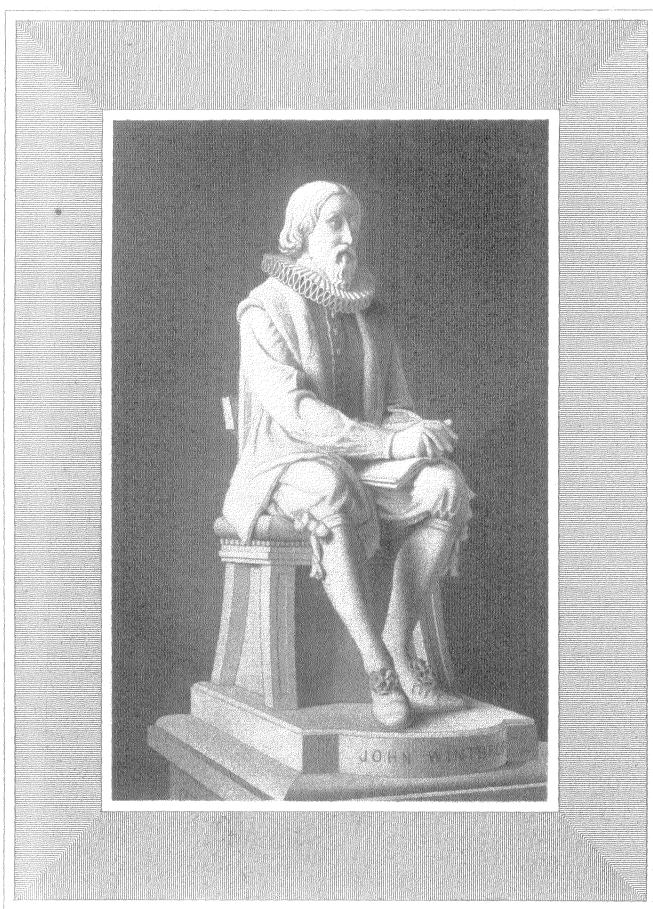
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LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
JOHN WINTHROP.
1630 — 1649.



STATUE OF
GOVERNOR WINTHROP,
in the Chapel.

AT MOUNT AUBURN.



LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

JOHN WINTHROP,

FROM HIS EMBARKATION FOR NEW ENGLAND IN 1630,
WITH THE CHARTER AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, TO HIS DEATH IN

1649.

BY

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:

LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.

1869.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1866, by
ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGE:
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I MUST not omit to acknowledge my indebtedness to CHARLES DEANE, Esq., A.M., of Cambridge; to the Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D., of Boston; to the Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., of Charlestown; and to Dr. JOHN APPLETON, the Assistant Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — for valuable aid in the preparation of this volume for the press.

I may add, that, after every thing except this Prefatory Note was in type, my younger friend, Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, on his return from England, kindly communicated to me the following extract from an account of the principal Suffolk Families, which he had copied from the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and which, though containing no new fact, is interesting as an evidence that Governor Winthrop was not unremembered in the land of his birth: —

“Winthrop. — John W. of Groton, Esq. went into N. E. and was there first Governour after they had their patent from King Charles, — reputed a very wise man and oftimes chosen their Governour. He ended his dayes in N. E.”

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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TO THE VENERABLE

JAMES SAVAGE, LL.D.,

MY PREDECESSOR IN THE PRESIDENCY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AND NOW ITS SENIOR MEMBER, TO WHOSE LABORS IN EDITING
WINTHROP'S "HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND" I HAVE
BEEN SO DEEPLY INDEBTED

This Volume

IS GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

JOHN WINTHROP.

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INTRODUCTORY. WINTHROP'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA; ITS INCIDENTS
AND PERILS. FAREWELL LETTER TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
WINTHROP'S SERMON ON THE PASSAGE. THE ARRIVAL.

IN our previous volume, we have given the Life and Letters of John Winthrop in Old England. All that remained of his correspondence, all that could be ascertained of his career, up to the moment of his departure from his native land, was included in that volume. In closing it, we left him just sailing for America, in the early spring of 1630, in the forty-third year of his age, attended by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, of which in the previous autumn he had been chosen Governor, and bringing with him the Charter of the Colony over which he had thus been called to preside. His reasons for entering upon so responsible and arduous a service, his preparations for quitting his home and country, his tender partings with his wife and such of his children as were to remain behind him for a time, and his affectionate farewells to the many cherished relatives and friends whom he was

to see no more for ever, were all abundantly set forth. Nothing, indeed, was omitted which could help us to form a just portrait of the old Puritan leader as he embarked on his memorable enterprise; and we should be disappointed, we confess, if there were not reason for thinking, that some false impressions, both of his own character and of the characters of those who were associated with him, had in this way been corrected.

We all knew that the Fathers of Massachusetts were men of piety and prayer. We all knew that they were men of the Bible and of the Sabbath. We all knew that they were men of faith and hope. Without an abundant measure of all these elements of character, they would never have undertaken the work of planting a political Colony, and founding a Christian Commonwealth, in a remote and desolate wilderness; or, if they had undertaken it, they never could have succeeded. Nothing but faith and hope and prayer, resting upon the promises of God's word, and sustained by the institutions which cluster about the Christian Sabbath, could have given them strength and courage for such an enterprise, or could have called down those blessings from on high which were essential to its success.

But not a few of us had doubted how far these old Fathers of Massachusetts were men of charity. Not a few of us had feared that this greatest of the three pre-eminent Christian graces, upon which the richest treasures of apostolic eloquence were poured forth and almost exhausted, had found but a feeble recognition in some of their hearts. They have been associated, certainly, with an austerity of disposition, a sternness of

character, and a severity of conduct, which have often subjected them to the reproach of history, and which have sometimes rendered them repulsive even to their own posterity.

We are glad to believe, that the Life and Letters of Winthrop, as thus far given, have done something to mitigate, if not to dispel, this prejudice. They have served to exhibit at least one of the foremost of the Massachusetts Fathers as abounding in tenderness and love. If any thing of severity, or any thing of bitterness, shall be developed in what remains of his life, it is plain that he brought no root of either of them with him. We have seen him severe indeed, but towards no one except himself. We have seen him dealing unsparingly with his own short-comings, with his own 'sins, negligences, and ignorances;' but overflowing with kindness and affection towards all around him, and winning back a full share of kindness and affection from all around him in return. At times, indeed, we have been almost disposed to distrust the bravery and self-reliance of his nature, and to doubt whether one of so much delicacy of sentiment, of such a depth of sensibility and sympathy, could be qualified for enduring the hardships, and confronting the deprivations and dangers, which he was now destined to encounter.

Such an impression, perhaps, has resulted in part from the fact, that almost all the letters of his, which belong to the part of his life thus far described and which have survived the lapse of time, are addressed to his wife, his children, or his nearest and dearest relatives, and are, of course, mainly occupied with allusions to their

domestic condition and circumstances. His letters on business, on public affairs, or on other topics of general interest, have disappeared with those to whom they were written; and no copies of them have been preserved. Had any of them been left, they would doubtless have shown that he was a man of practical wisdom, as well as of refined sensibility; a man of decision, resolution, and energy, as well as of piety and charity; and would have prepared us for that exhibition of vigorous effort and manly endurance which will be found in the part of his career which remains to be described.

But, before turning to the Life and Letters of John Winthrop in New England, we must give some account of his voyage across the Atlantic; no holiday excursion at that period of the history of ocean navigation, however it may often be at this. No less than eleven ships were provided for the transportation of the Massachusetts Company, and the transfer of the chief government, to New England. These were the *Arbella*, the *Ambrose*, the *Jewel*, the *Talbot*, the *Charles*, the *Mayflower*, the *William and Francis*, the *Hopewell*, the *Whale*, the *Success*, and the *Trial*. The name of the *Arbella* had been adopted in compliment to the noble lady whom we shall presently find among her passengers. The ship had long been known as the *Eagle*; and we are almost disposed to regret that the vessel in which so many of the earliest germs of political independence were brought over to America, and the voyage which, as much, certainly, as any which preceded or followed it, must be always associated with the permanent and prosperous settle-

ment of the American continent, should have been deprived by any act of gallantry, however delicate or deserved, of so auspicious an omen. But the Eagle was still there in every thing but in name; and no one can look back at the circumstances and consequences of that voyage, without desiring, in the mind's eye at least, our cherished national emblem as the figure-head of that foremost ship.¹ The Mayflower was there too, consecrated in every New-England heart as the carrier, ten years before, of the pioneer Pilgrim-band, which planted the great principles of religious freedom upon our shores.

Only the four first-named of these ships, however, were ready at the time fixed for sailing; and it was determined that these four should set out at once in company, and leave the others to follow as soon as might be. The Arbella was designated as the admiral of the fleet, the Talbot as vice-admiral, the Ambrose as rear-admiral, and the Jewel as captain.

The Arbella was a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, carrying twenty-eight guns and fifty-two men. Peter Milbourne was her master and part owner. In

¹ John Adams, — than whom there could be no better authority on such a point, — in the second of his letters to Judge Tudor (1818), insisted that “the principles and feelings which produced the Revolution ought to be traced back for two hundred years, and sought in the history of the country from the first plantations in America.” In 1807, he had written to Benjamin Rush still more emphatically, “I have always laughed at the affectation of representing American Independence as a novel idea, as a modern discovery, as a late invention. The idea of it as a possible thing, as a probable event, nay, as a necessary and unavoidable measure, in case Great Britain should assume an unconstitutional authority over us, has been familiar to Americans from the first settlement of the country, and was as well understood by Gov. Winthrop in 1675, as by Gov. Samuel Adams, when he told you that Independence had been the first wish of his heart for seven years.” The date 1675 was evidently named as a mere antithesis to 1775, and could have had no reference to any event of that particular year.—*The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. ix. p. 596; and vol. x. p. 284. See also *Palfrey's Hist. of N. E.*, vol. i. p. 308, and vol. ii. p. 266, *foot-note*, where similar views are admirably suggested.

this vessel were almost all the principal members of the Company, with such of their families as accompanied them. The excellent Lady Arbella Johnson, the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, was, of course, on board the ship which had been named for her; and her no less excellent husband, Isaac Johnson. In the same ship were Sir Richard Saltonstall, with three of his sons, Richard, Henry, and probably Samuel, and his two daughters, Grace and Rosamond; George Phillips, the minister, and his wife; William Coddington (afterwards Governor of Rhode Island) and his wife; Thomas Dudley, the Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Company, with at least one son, Samuel, and with four daughters, — Anne, Patience, Sarah, and Mercy, — the eldest of whom had just become, at only sixteen years of age, the youthful bride of Simon Bradstreet, who of course accompanied her, and who lived to be “the Nestor of New England.” William Vassall and Increase Nowell, with their wives, may have been with them also. And we would willingly believe that John Wilson, the destined pastor of the first Boston church, was in the same ship; but, no mention being made of him in any account of the voyage, it seems probable that he was in the Talbot, Ambrose, or Jewel.¹ Governor Winthrop, certainly, was in the Arbella, with his sons, Stephen and Adam, — the former of twelve, the latter of only ten, years of age; their elder brother Henry having been prevented by an accident (as we shall see), at the last

¹ The fact of Wilson's name not being appended to the Humble Request, would seem to settle the question that he was not on board the Arbella.

moment, from joining them, and being left to follow in the Talbot.

The little fleet sailed from Southampton on the 22d, and from "the Cowes" on the 29th, of March, 1629-30; but they were soon compelled to come to an anchor again off Yarmouth, where the wind detained them for more than a week. On Thursday, the 8th of April, they weighed anchor again; and, on that day, the voyage may fairly be said to have commenced.

Governor Winthrop, however, begins the Journal, which is now commonly known as the "History of New England," on "Easter Monday, March 29," while the ships were still riding at the Cowes. He may not have been unwilling thus to associate the outset of his enterprise with the glorious hopes of the great festival of the Resurrection.¹ He certainly needed all those hopes to sustain him under the trials through which he was now passing, and the still greater trials which he was still destined to encounter. It is from the almost daily record of events then begun, and continued until within a few weeks of his death, that we are to derive the greater part of what remains to be told of the story of his life. He seems to have appreciated the full magnitude of the work in which he had engaged; to have realized that he was going out to lay the foundation of a great commonwealth; and to have felt that no incident

¹ It may be pleasant to remember that it was the same Easter for which John Milton, still at the University, had essayed to prepare an "Ode on the Passion," but had stopped short in despair at the eighth stanza; adding afterwards this manly confession: "This subject the author, finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left unfinished." — *Masson's Life of Milton*, Am. ed., vol. i. p. 167-8.

connected with such an enterprise could be too trifling to be recorded. Yet now and then the pressure of public duties or private cares would interrupt him, and compel him to leave gaps in the record, which, though greatly to be regretted, are hardly less expressive than the written story. It is not proposed to follow him in all this detail, but only to borrow from his Journal such facts and observations as may serve to throw light on his own course and character. It will often be found interesting to do this by setting down the precise entries as he made them, instead of attempting to describe the same events by slight alterations or transpositions of his phraseology, as has sometimes been done by others.¹ We shall exhibit in this way his style as an historian or a journalist, as well as illustrate his public and private career. Thus the spirit in which the voyage was commenced may be inferred from the following record on the fifth day after the embarkation:—

“Friday, 2 (April). We kept a fast aboard our ship and the Talbot. The wind continued still very high at W. and S., and rainy. In the time of our fast, two of our landmen pierced a rundlet of strong water, and stole some of it, for which we laid them in bolts all the night; and the next morning the principal was openly whipped, and both kept with bread and water that day.”

Here, too, is a pleasant incident of one of the early days of the voyage, pleasantly described:—

¹ Hubbard's History of New England (1680) borrows largely from Winthrop's then unpublished manuscripts, with little or no acknowledgment, unless it were contained in some of the missing or mutilated pages of his manuscript.

"Tuesday, 6 (April). Capt. Burleigh, captain of Yarmouth Castle, a grave, comely gentleman, and of great age, came aboard us, and stayed breakfast; and, offering us much courtesy, he departed, our captain giving him four shot out of the forecastle for his farewell. He was an old sea-captain in Queen Elizabeth's time, and, being taken prisoner at sea, was kept prisoner in Spain three years. Himself and three of his sons were captains in Roe's voyage."¹

But a more interesting visit than that of the veteran captain of Yarmouth Castle took place on the afternoon of the same day. It was the visit of Matthew Cradock, a merchant of London, Winthrop's only predecessor as Governor of the Massachusetts Company, who, not being ready for immediate emigration, and perhaps feeling himself better fitted for presiding over a commercial company than over a political commonwealth, had resigned his place in view of the transfer of the government to New England. He evidently watched the departure of his old associates with eager and affectionate interest to the last; and to him, too, the *Arbella* paid the compliment of a salute as he quitted the ship, "our captain (says the Governor) giving him three shot out of the steerage for a farewell." Cradock had taken leave of the Company once before, on the day of their first embarkation, when a similar compliment was paid him. But now his farewell was final. No further opportunity of visiting the ships occurred before they sailed; and he never fulfilled, if, indeed, he ever seriously

¹ In a footnote to this passage, Mr. Savage has given an interesting account of Sir Thomas Roe's career. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, vol. i. p. 5.

entertained, the purpose of following Winthrop to America.¹

On the next day after these visits, and while the Arbella was still awaiting a fair wind off Yarmouth, the Governor and Company addressed the following admirable letter to their brethren of the Church of England; which was immediately published in London, under the title of "The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyall Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England; to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions, and misconstructions of their Intentions:" —

"REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN, — The general rumor of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves with others, through the providence of the Almighty, are engaged, as it may spare us the labor of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord's faithful servants. For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy; which as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits. We beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us (for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this

¹ Cradock was a liberal and devoted friend to the Colony. He had an agent and servants and several houses in New England. A house built for him at Medford is still standing, and is one of our most ancient edifices.

world), yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native Country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts.

"We leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there; but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus.

"Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand; which if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious, howsoever your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is a usual and laudable exercise of your charity, to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbours: do the like for a Church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails, and provide such a passage and welcome for us from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall find it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends, who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings, as the specialties of his providence and goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant that the spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a Colony from Rome; let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceas-

ing, who are a weak colony from yourselves, making continual request for us to God in all your prayers.

"What we entreat of you that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace.

"If any there be who, through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would entreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections, but to consider rather that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

"What goodness you shall extend to us in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labor to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform, promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us. And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest

"Your assured friends and brethren,

"JOHN WINTHROPE, GOV.
CHARLES FINES,¹

GEORGE PHILLIPPS,
&c.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL,
ISAAC JOHNSON,
THOMAS DUDLEY,
WILLIAM CODDINGTON,
&c.

"From YARMOUTH, aboard the ARBELLA, April 7, 1630."

¹ Doubtless of the family of Fiennes, Lord Say & Sele, one of whose daughters married the young Earl of Lincoln, a brother of Lady Arbella Johnson. Mr. Savage thinks

The authorship of this touching and beautiful letter is not certainly known. Hubbard, in his *History of New England*, says that it was commonly ascribed to "Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester;"¹ and other later historians have adopted this conjecture or tradition without question. Dr. Young, however, who gives the letter a conspicuous place in his *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, thinks it more probable that it was written by Winthrop or Johnson, or some one of the others who signed it.² There is certainly nothing in the style of Winthrop's correspondence, as it has thus far come to light, which would induce one to imagine that he would have resorted to another pen than his own for a letter of which he was to be the leading signer. It is a striking fact, however, that no allusion to it of any sort is found in his *Journal*, notwithstanding there is a distinct, though brief, record of the doings of the day on which it was dated. This circumstance leads to the conjecture, that the letter may have been previously prepared and signed, and that the date was left to be inserted at the last moment before their final departure, or perhaps, by another hand, after they should have fairly sailed. However this may be, the letter bears Winthrop's signature, with his official title appended to it; and it presents, therefore, the most authentic index to the views and feelings of himself and his associates towards those to whom it was addressed. John Win-

that Fines came over with the Johnsons, and returned home after their death. Dr. Young says he never came to N. E.—See *Forster's Life of Sir John Eliot*, p. 470, note. *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.* 1860-62, p. 94. *Young's Chron. of Mass.* p. 298, note.

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d ser. vol. v. p. 126.

² Young's *Chronicles of Mass.*, p. 299.

throp was not a man to put his name to any paper, whether written by himself or by another, which contained sentiments that he did not cordially approve. He had been a humble but faithful worshipper at Groton Church, and had never renounced the communion of his fathers. The records of that parish still show that the baptisms and marriages and burials of his family had been solemnized beneath its roof, and according to its ritual, for nearly seventy years. He could thus subscribe himself, in all sincerity, as one of "those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes."

It is a striking fact, in connection with this letter, and with the charge of insincerity, and even hypocrisy, which has sometimes been so wantonly based upon it, that the first ground on which Roger Williams "refused to join with the congregation at Boston," after his arrival in the Colony in February, 1630-1, is stated by Winthrop to have been, "because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there."¹

The voyage of the *Arbella* and her consorts was unusually long and stormy. It was attended, too, with other perils besides those of the sea. England was at war with Spain at that time; and Spanish cruisers seem to have been swarming about Dunkirk and other ports of the Spanish Netherlands. On the day but

¹ Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., vol. i. pp. 52-3.

one after the date of the Humble Request, an alarm occurred, from the appearance of eight strange sail bearing down towards them, which gave occasion to all on board to exhibit their coolness and courage in preparing to meet an enemy, and which afforded Winthrop, moreover, an opportunity for vivid description, which he did not fail to turn to the best advantage in his Journal. Not a word can be spared from his account of the affair; and it is given accordingly in his own language:—

(April 9.) "In the morning we descried from the top eight sail astern of us, (whom Capt. Lowe told us he had seen at Dunnose in the evening.) We supposing they might be Dunkirkers, our captain caused the gunroom and gundeck to be cleared, all the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our powder-chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and twenty-five of them appointed for muskets, and every man written down for his quarter.

"The wind continued N. with fair weather, and after noon it calmed, and we still saw those eight ships to stand towards us; having more wind than we, they came up apace, so as our captain and the masters of our consorts were more occasioned to think they might be Dunkirkers, (for we were told at Yarmouth, that there were ten sail of them waiting for us;) whereupon we all prepared to fight with them, and took down some cabins which were in the way of our ordnance, and out of every ship were thrown such bed matters as were subject to take fire, and we heaved out our long boats, and put up our waste cloths, and drew forth our men, and armed them with muskets and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks; and for an experiment our captain shot a ball of wild-fire fastened to an arrow out of a crossbow, which burnt in the water a good time. The lady Arbella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things

being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if things had proved as might well be expected, for there had been eight against four, and the least of the enemy's ships were reported to carry thirty brass pieces; but our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our captain, and his care and diligence, did much encourage us. It was now about one of the clock, and the fleet seemed to be within a league of us; therefore our captain, because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake us, tacked about and stood to meet them, and when we came near we perceived them to be our friends, — the *Little Neptune*, a ship of some twenty pieces of ordnance, and her two consorts, bound for the Straits; a ship of *Flushing*, and a *Frenchman*, and three other English ships bound for Canada and Newfoundland. So when we drew near, every ship (as they met) saluted each other, and the musketeers discharged their small shot; and so (God be praised) our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment.”¹

On the next day, the Governor furnishes the following account of the unfortunate detention of his son Henry. We give it in full the rather, as such a misadventure at the outset of the voyage seems almost like a presage of the sad fate which was to befall him at its close: —

“Saturday, 10 (April). I should have noted before, that the day we set sail from the *Cowes*, my son, Henry Winthrop, went on shore with one of my servants to fetch an ox and ten wethers, which he had provided for our ship, and there went on shore with him, Mr. Pelham, and one of his servants.

¹ Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

They sent the cattle aboard, but returned not themselves. About three days after, my servant and a servant of Mr. Pelham's came to us in Yarmouth, and told us they were all coming to us in a boat the day before, but the wind was so strong against them, as they were forced on shore in the night, and the two servants came to Yarmouth by land, and so came on ship-board, but my son and Mr. Pelham (we heard) went back to the Cowes and so to Hampton. We expected them three or four days after, but they came not to us, so we have left them behind, and suppose they will come after in Mr. Goffe's ships. We were very sorry they had put themselves upon such inconvenience, when they were so well accommodated in our ship. This was not noted before, because we expected daily their return; and upon this occasion I must add here one observation, that we have many young gentlemen in our ship, who behave themselves well, and are conformable to all good orders."

Several days of severe storm having now intervened, the following entry is found in the Journal:—

April 27th. "We appointed Tuesdays and Wednesdays to catechise our people, and this day Mr. Phillips began it."

Here, too, is a record of the observance of a Sunday during the voyage:—

"Lord's Day, 2 (May). The tempest continued all the day, with wind W. and by N., and the sea raged and tossed us exceedingly; yet, through God's mercy, we were very comfortable, and few or none sick, but had opportunity to keep the Sabbath, and Mr. Phillips preached twice that day."

It would seem, however, that Mr. Phillips may not have been the only preacher on board the *Arbella* during this memorable voyage. A discourse has been preserved,

with the following title: "A Modell of Christian Charity, written on board the Arbella, on the Atlantic Ocean, by the Hon. John Winthrop, Esq., in his passage (with a great company of Religious people, of which Christian tribes he was the Brave Leader and famous Governor ;) from the Island of Great Brittain to New-England in the North America, Anno 1630."

In this discourse, after an elaborate discussion of Christian charity or love, the Governor proceeded to speak of the great work in which they had embarked, and of the means by which it was to be accomplished. The spirit of the whole is condensed in the following passage from the conclusion:—

"Thus stands the case between God and us. We are entered into a Covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission. The Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these and those ends, upon these and those accounts. We have here-upon besought of Him favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it; but if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded, and, dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us; be revenged of such a (sinful) people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a Covenant.

"Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, *to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God*. For this end, we must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must

entertain each other in brotherly affection. We must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of other's necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other; make other's condition our own; rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, as members of the same body. So shall we *keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us, as his own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways. So that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when he shall make us a praise and a glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it likely that of *New England*.' For we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. Soe that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word throughout the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are a-going.

"I shall shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel (Deut. 30). *Beloved, there is now set before us life and good, Death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments and his Ordinance and his Lawes, and the articles of our Covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so*

*that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship and serve other Gods, our pleasure and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it; Therefore let us choose life that we, and our seed may live, by obeying His voice and cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity."*¹

Governor Winthrop's Journal is as entirely silent in regard to this discourse, as it is in regard to the Farewell Letter to the Brethren of the Church of England; but there can hardly be a doubt that the author of it—who, as we shall see hereafter, was not unaccustomed to "prophecy" in the congregations—found some fit occasion for delivering what he had taken such pains to write. Possibly it may have been referred to by some of those mysterious *et cæteras*² with which the Governor's entries abound; as, for example, under date of Thursday, May 20, where we find the following:—

"In the great cabin, at nine at night, *etc.*, and the next day again, *etc.* The storm continued all this night."

The word "Fast," inscribed in the margin, against this passage, would give color to the idea, that it referred to religious exercises or exhortations of some sort, and perhaps by himself.

¹ This discourse was originally printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d series, vol. vii. pp. 31–48. The Italics are followed from this copy.

² Winthrop may have derived his evident respect for an *etc.* from my Lord Coke's Preface to the First Part of the Institutes, where he says, "Certain it is, that there is never a period, nor (for the most part) a word, nor an *etc.*, but affordeth excellent matter of learning." The first edition of Coke was published in 1628, and the second in 1629; both of them in season for Winthrop to have read them before his departure from England.

The Governor did not omit to make note from time to time of such things as seemed strange to him in the appearance of the heavens during the passage, or of any other natural phenomena which fell under his observation. On Thursday, the 6th of May, we find the following entry: —

“Four things I observed here. 1. That the declination of the pole star was much, even to the view, beneath that it is in England. 2. That the new moon, when it first appeared, was much smaller than at any time I had seen it in England. 3. That all the way we came, we saw fowls flying and swimming, when we had no land near by two hundred leagues. 4. That wheresoever the wind blew, we had still cold weather, and the sun did not give so much heat as in England.”

It would be tedious to prolong this account of the voyage of the Massachusetts Company by enumerating the various incidents which were common to all voyages in that day. It is enough to add, that, on the seventieth day out, land was at length descried; that, on the seventy-second day, “there came a smell of the shore, like the smell of a garden;” and that on the seventy-sixth day, being Saturday, the 12th of June, the *Arbella* came to anchor.

The Governor finishes the journal of the voyage with the following pleasant description: —

“Saturday, 12. About four in the morning we were near our port. We shot off two pieces of ordnance, and sent our skiff to Mr. Peirce his ship (which lay in the harbour, and had been there — days before). About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a shallop as he was sailing to Pemaquid. As we stood towards the harbour, we saw another

shallop coming to us ; so we stood in to meet her, and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the islands.

"Afterwards Mr. Peirce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endecott, who came to us about two of the clock, and with him Mr. Skelton and Capt. Levett. We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind.

"In the mean time most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries."

And thus, on the twenty-second day of June, 1630 (according to our present style of designating the date), Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts Company are fairly arrived on the shores of New England, and the *Arbella* is safely moored in the harbor of Salem. Our next chapter may fitly be devoted to some brief description of the condition of things in New England at this memorable date. The Governor gives us a foretaste of what we are to find there, when he closes the description of the day of his arrival by telling us that "an Indian came aboard us, and lay there all night ;" and when he begins the record of the next day, which was the "Lord's Day," by saying, that, "in the morning, the Sagamore of Agawam (Masconomo) and one of his men came aboard our ship, and staid with us all day."

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF THINGS IN NEW ENGLAND WHEN WINTHROP ARRIVED THERE. THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH WERE SOON WITNESSED, WITH CONTEMPORANEOUS ACCOUNTS OF WINTHROP'S PERSONAL LABORS IN ACCOMPLISHING THEM.

THE arrival of Governor Winthrop, with the Massachusetts Company and the Charter of the Colony, has sometimes been assumed by chronologists and historians as the date of the permanent colonization of Massachusetts. And it would certainly be difficult to over-estimate the influence of that event, not only in promoting and multiplying settlements where they had never before been attempted, but in giving security and permanence to those which already existed. No one can be ignorant, however, that local plantations had been previously commenced at various points which are now included within the limits of Massachusetts; and though some of them had already died out, and others were in a weak and precarious condition, more than one of them has happily vindicated its claim to be regarded as having been permanent, by surviving to this day.

First of all, there was the ever-honored Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth in 1620, which is estimated to have contained about three hundred inhabitants, of all ages and sexes, when Winthrop arrived. This was a Colony by itself, under rulers of its own, and continued such

until it was united with the Massachusetts Colony in the year 1692.

Next there was the Wessagusset or Weymouth settlement, by Weston's Company, in 1622; but this never numbered more than fifty or sixty persons, and was broken up in the following year. The same site was soon afterwards occupied by a second company, under the lead of Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; but it had been again abandoned long before the arrival of Winthrop.

Then there was the Nantasket attempt, by Conant, Lyford, and Oldham, in the year 1623 or 1624; which was abandoned, in 1625, for a fishing-settlement at Cape Ann, over which Roger Conant presided, under a charter, as has recently been alleged, from Lord Sheffield.¹

Still, again, there was the "Merry-Mount" settlement, in 1625, under Morton and Wollaston; which consisted only of about thirty persons at the outset, and which was thoroughly disgraced, if not wholly dispersed, in 1630.

And lastly, and more important than all save that at Plymouth, there was the plantation at Naumkeag, now Salem, commenced originally by Roger Conant and others in 1626, and renewed and re-enforced by Endicott and those who came with him in 1628, and by Higginson and his associates in 1629.

There were also, or had been, scattering settlements elsewhere: among others, that of William Blackstone at Shawmut, now Boston; that of Thomas Walford at Mish-

¹ "Landing at Cape Anne," by J. Wingate Thornton. But see also Deane's note on page 168-9 of his invaluable edition of Bradford. — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, vol. iii.

awum, now Charlestown; and that of Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island.

There is some discrepancy between the accounts which have come down to us of the number of persons by whom Endicott was accompanied. White, in his "Planter's Plea," published in 1630, says as follows:—

"Master Endicott was sent over Governor, assisted with a few men; and arriving in safety there in September, 1628, and uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the country into one body, they made up in all not much above fifty or sixty persons."¹

But Higginson, in his "New England's Plantation," estimates the number of persons in the Colony previous to his own arrival at about one hundred. He brought two hundred persons with him; and was thus able to say, in September, 1629, "There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehum-kek, now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton or Charlestown."²

The entire population of the plantation may thus, perhaps, be estimated at not very far from three hundred persons, when Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts Company came over; though, as will presently be seen, the intervening winter had made somewhat serious inroads upon their number.

¹ Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, p. 13.

² Ibid., p. 259.

Roger Conant had presided over the Salem Plantation until 1628, and had been succeeded by Endicott on his arrival. Endicott was sent over, at first, under the patent obtained from the Plymouth Council, March 19, 1628. In the following year, after the Royal Charter had been obtained (March 4, 1629), a commission was made out for him as "Governor of London's Plantation in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England." In the exercise of this commission, he was subordinate to "the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England," by whom he was deputed, and who, from time to time, sent him elaborate instructions for the regulation of his conduct. The Instructions of the Governor and Company to Endicott, dated 17th of April, 1629, and 28th of May, 1629, are among the most interesting and valuable of our early colonial papers, and show clearly the relation which existed between the plantation at Naumkeag and the Governor and Company in London.

On the arrival of Governor Winthrop, all this double machinery was abolished. The chief government, as we have seen, was transferred; and the local government was, of course, absorbed in it. Winthrop came over at once as Governor of the Company, and to exercise a direct and personal magistracy over the Colony. Nor was the change a mere nominal or formal change. He brought with him a Company to be governed. Not less than a thousand persons were added to the Colony about the period of his arrival. Seven or eight hundred persons came with him, or speedily followed, as a part of his immediate expedition. Two or three hundred more

arrived almost simultaneously, though in ships not included in the Company's fleet.¹ A second thousand of inhabitants was soon afterwards added, under the same influence and example. Winthrop was, in a word, the chosen leader of "the great Suffolk emigration," as it has been called, whereby that which had been hitherto regarded as a precarious plantation was at once transformed into a permanent and prosperous Commonwealth. He came, with his companions, "to continue and inhabit," agreeably to the compact which had been signed at Cambridge; and henceforth, instead of two or three hundred pioneer planters, thinly scattered around the Bay, looking to a Governor and Company across the wide and wintry ocean for their authority and instructions, two or three thousand inhabitants are to be seen, with a Governor and Legislature upon their own soil, and of their own selection; erecting houses, building ships, laying out villages and towns; establishing churches, schools, and even a college; and laying broad and deep the foundations of an independent Republic.

Such was the result of that transfer of the chief government, which Matthew Cradock, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company in Old England, moved on the twenty-eighth day of July, 1629, and which John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Company in New England,² was the honored instrument in carrying out to

¹ Young's Chron. of Mass., pp. 310, 311, note.

² We have seen in our former volume (p. 352) that he was emphatically styled "the first Governor of the jurisdiction" by Nathaniel Morton, in his *New England's Memorial*, in 1669. We might cite Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Prince, Trumbull, Belknap, Holmes, Eliot, Alden Bradford, Savage, and Palfrey, to the same effect. Both Hubbard and Hutchinson, too, imply, if they do not express, the same idea. Indeed, we have never happened to see any other designation of Governor Winthrop until within

its completion on the twelfth (twenty-second) day of June, 1630. On that day the transfer was consummated, and the consequences soon began to develop themselves.

Governor Winthrop, however, commenced his administration in New England under no very hopeful circumstances.

"We found the Colony" (says Dudley in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln) "in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, insomuch that the remainder of a hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the provisions shipped for them were taken out of the ship they were put in; and they who were trusted to ship them in another failed us, and left them behind: whereupon necessity enforced us, to our extreme loss, to give them all liberty, who had cost us about £16 or £20 a person, furnishing and sending over."

the last twenty or thirty years, when a controversy on the point has been somewhat acrimoniously waged. It is a mere dispute about terms. There is no historical fact involved in it, and no personal merit or demerit. Both Conant and Endicott, unquestionably, were called Governor before Winthrop. Whether they were Governors of Massachusetts in the sense in which that title is properly applied, is a different question. Matthew Cradock was the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company; but he never left England. John Endicott was the first, last, and only Governor of "London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England," subordinate to the "Governor and Company of the Mass^{ts} Bay in New England." John Winthrop was the first Governor of the Massachusetts Company on the soil of Massachusetts, uniting all the authority of Cradock and Endicott; and hence the general current of history for two centuries has given him the title of first Governor of Massachusetts. Cradock and Endicott and Winthrop can all afford to rest their claims to consideration on something more substantial than any mere titular priority. They never quarrelled for precedence themselves; and it seems a pity that any attempt to put a new gloss upon the history of either of them, at this late day, should create an impression of a jealousy and rivalry which had no existence in their own bosoms. An exact idea of the successive relations of Endicott and Winthrop to the Massachusetts Colony is given in the admirable opinion of Chief-Justice Shaw, — *Commonwealth vs. City of Roxbury*; *Gray's Mass. Reports*, vol. ix. pp. 484-5. The elaborate notes of the accomplished reporter will not be unobserved. See also Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 184.

It would thus appear, that no less than one hundred and eighty of the residents under Endicott were the bond-servants of the planters that were to follow, and that one of the first acts of Winthrop's administration was to emancipate all of them who were living; not, indeed, from any considerations of abstract philanthropy, but from absolute inability to provide for their sustenance. The whole Colony was evidently in a weak and almost starving condition when the *Arbella* arrived. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dudley speaks of the "too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof;" and adds, "Salem, where we landed, pleased us not."

The famous Capt. John Smith, "sometimes Governour of Virginia, and Admirall of New England" (as he styles himself, in his "Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or any where; Or, the Pathway to experience to erect a Plantation," published in London in 1631), gives a fearful account of the condition of things in New England when the Massachusetts Company arrived.

"It is true" (says he) "that Master John Wynthrop, their new Governour, a worthy gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised: but at Sea, such an extraordinarie Storme encountered his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and brused, three-score and ten died, many of their people fell sicke; and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived in New England at severall times, where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew itselfe."

After describing some of these "monstrous humors," Smith continues: —

"Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes, but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releevd those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him, and more than 1600 English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell."¹

An original "Narrative concerning the Settlement of New England," on the files of Her Majesty's Public-Record Office, in London, throws additional light on this early period of the Colony. Under date of 1629,² it says as follows: —

"This yeare there went hence 6 shippes with 1000 people in them to the Massachusetts, having sent two yeares before betweene 3 & 400 servants to provide howses and Corne against their coming, to the charge of (at least) 10.000*l.*: these Servants through Idleness & ill Government neglected both their building & plantinge of Corne, soe that if those 6 shippes had not arived the plantation had ben broke & dissolved. Now so soone as Mr. Winthrop was landed, perceiving what misery was like to ensewe through their Idlenes, he presently fell to worke with his owne hands, & thereby soe encouradged the rest that there was not an Idle person then to be found in the whole Plantation, & whereas the Indians said they would shortly retorne as fast as they came, now they admired to see in what short time they had all housed themselves and planted Corne sufficient for their subsistence."³

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d series, vol. iii. pp. 40, 41.

² The embarkation at South Hampton was in 1629; though the new year had opened before the fleet had got beyond the Cowes.

³ This Narrative, procured for me, while in London in 1860, by W. Noël Sainsbury, Esq., F.S.A., will be found in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, vol. iii. pp 129-31.

Still another contemporaneous account of the Colony and of its Governor is found in the following passage from a letter of Thomas Wiggin¹ to "Sir John Cooke, knt. principall Secretary to his Ma'tie, and one of his highnes. most hono'ble privie counsell," dated Nov. 19, 1632:—

"For the plantation in the Mattachusetts, the English there being about 2000 people, yonge & old, are generally most industrious and fitt for such a worke, having in three yeares done more in buyldinge and plantinge then others have done in seaven tymes that space, and with at least ten tymes lesse expence.

"Besides I have observed the planters there, and by their loving just and kind dealinge with the Indians, have gotten their love and respect, and drawne them to an outward conforming to the English, soe that the Indians repaire to the English Governor there and his deputies for justice.

"And for the Governor himselfe, I haue observed him to be a discreete and sober man, givinge good example to all the planters, wearinge plaine apparell, such as may well besee meane man, drinking ordinarily water, and when he is not conversant about matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinary labour with his servants, ruling with much mildness, and in this particular I observed him to be strict in execution of Justice upon such as have scandalized this state, either in civill or ecclesiasticall government, to the great content^{mt} of those that are best affected, and to the terror of offenders."²

No worthier testimony to Winthrop's character and services could be furnished than that supplied by these representations of him. Waiving all considerations of

¹ Wiggin was an eye-witness of what he describes; having come over to America in 1631. His letter was written in England, whither he had recently returned for a short stay before finally settling in New England.

² Savage's Gleanings for N. E. History, Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii., 3d series, pp. 322-3.

official dignity, and working with his own hands, he gave an example, more forcible than any exhortations to others could have been, of that industry, humility, self-denial, and self-devotion, by which alone the infant Colony was to be rescued from ruin, and reared up into a prosperous and noble Commonwealth.

It was, doubtless, in view of such accounts of the Governor's "self-denying and self-neglecting carriage," that John Humfrey wrote to him so earnestly from London, imploring him not to be prodigal of his life and health; telling him, that, while some needed the spur, he needed the rein; and bidding him take heed lest his "bodie, not accustomed to hardnes of unusual kindes, & not necessitated unles by a voluntarie & contracted necessitie, should sinke under his burthen, & fall to ruine for want of a more conscionable tenaunt."¹

¹ *Letter of John Humfrey*, Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. vi. p. 6. Humfrey had been originally chosen Deputy-Governor to Winthrop, but was prevented from coming over until some years afterwards.

CHAPTER III.

WINTHROP GOES TO MASSACHUSETTS BAY. DEATH OF HIS SON
HENRY. REMOVAL TO CHARLESTOWN. CHURCH COVENANT.
SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON. TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

THE Plantation at Salem, although clearly embraced in the Charter brought over by Governor Winthrop, seems not to have been originally understood as included in the general name of Massachusetts, or Massachusetts Bay. The first letter of instructions from the Governor and Company in England to Endicott directs him "to send forty or fifty persons to Mattachusetts Bay to inhabit there." So Dudley, in describing the first settlements to the Countess of Lincoln, says that "some were sent to the Bay to search up the rivers for a convenient place;" and thus Winthrop, in his Journal, a few days after his arrival, says, "Thursday, 17 (June). We went to Mattachusetts to find out a place for our sitting down."¹

This journey of exploration resulted in the immediate removal of the Governor and Company to what is now called Charlestown, and led soon afterwards to the settlement of Boston. Meantime, however, Winthrop had been called to sustain a severe affliction. His second son, Henry, who had so narrowly missed accompanying his

¹ The Second Centennial Anniversary of this date was celebrated at Charlestown, when a brilliant address was delivered by Hon. Edward Everett, on the Settlement of Massachusetts. — *Everett's Orations and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 215.

father in the Arbella, and who immediately followed him in another of the ships (the Talbot), was accidentally drowned at Salem on the very day after his arrival. "A sprightly and hopeful young gentleman he was (says Hubbard), who, though he escaped the danger of the main sea, yet was unhappily drowned in a small creek, not long after he came ashore, even the very next day, July the 2d, after his landing, to the no small grief of his friends, and the rest of the company."¹ He was twenty-two years of age, and had left a young wife behind him at Groton to give birth to a daughter. He had already been a good deal of an adventurer for one so young. An old family pedigree speaks of him as having been "chief proprietor and commander-in-chief of Barbadoes." But however exaggerated, or altogether apocryphal, this title may have been, he was undoubtedly among the earliest planters in that island. We have seen that he made a voyage there at eighteen years of age, and that he had involved himself in some plans of colonization, and in some speculations in trade, which were quite beyond his means, and which had called for the reproof of his father in a letter which has already been given.² The energy which he had thus displayed, and the experience which he had thus acquired, would doubtless have rendered him a valuable assistant to his father in the wilderness-work they had now jointly undertaken; and certainly we can hardly imagine a heavier blow to a parent than the loss of a son under the precise circumstances of the case. A family record,

¹ Hubbard's Hist. of N. E., pp. 131-2.

² Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. pp. 285-6.

of ancient but uncertain date, says, that, "the very day on which he went on shore in New England, he and the principal officers of the ship, walking out to a place now called, by the Salemites, Northfield, to view the Indian wigwams, they saw on the other side of the river a small canoe. He would have had one of the company swim over and fetch it, rather than walk several miles on foot, it being very hot weather: but none of the party could swim but himself; and so he plunged in, and, as he was swimming over, was taken with the cramp, a few roods from the shore, and drowned."

Winthrop did not trust himself to deal with the event in his Journal, but confined himself to the simple statement, "My son, Henry Winthrop, was drowned at Salem." His first letters from New England to his wife and his eldest son, however, contain touching allusions to this bitter bereavement; but they contain, also, renewed evidence of the fortitude with which he bore up under all the trials which he was called to encounter. "Yet for all these things, I praise my God," says he, "I am not discouraged; nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those good days here, which will make amends for all." "These afflictions we have met with need discourage none; for the country is exceeding good, and the climate very like our own."—"Here is sweet air, fair rivers, and plenty of springs; and the water better than in England. Here can be no want of any thing to those who bring means to raise out of the earth and sea."

But these first letters from New England are too interesting to be abridged; and we must give them in full. The second of them is now printed for the first time,

having been found among the family papers which have recently come to light.¹

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"To my very loving Wife, Mrs. Winthrop, the elder, at Groton, in Suffolk, near Sudbury. From New England.

"CHARLETON IN NEW ENGLAND, July 16, 1630.

"MY DEAR WIFE, — Blessed be the Lord, our good God and merciful Father, that yet hath preserved me in life and health to salute thee, and to comfort thy long longing heart with the joyful news of my welfare, and the welfare of thy beloved children.

"We had a long and troublesome passage, but the Lord made it safe and easy to us; and though we have met with many and great troubles, (as this bearer² can certify thee,) yet he hath pleased to uphold us, and to give us hope of a happy issue.

"I am so overpressed with business, as I have no time for these or other mine own private occasions. I only write now, that thou mayest know, that yet I live and am mindful of thee in all my affairs. The larger discourse of all things thou shalt receive from my brother Downing, which I must send by some of the last ships. We have met with many sad and discomfortable things, as thou shalt hear after; and the Lord's hand hath been heavy upon myself in some very near to me. My son Henry! my son Henry! ah, poor child! Yet it grieves me much more for my dear daughter. The Lord strengthen and comfort her

¹ The letters printed for the first time in this volume, as in the former volume, may be distinguished from those taken from the Appendix to Savage's edition of Winthrop's History of New England, or from other sources, by the fact that we have retained the old spelling.

² The next letter proves that this was Arthur Tyndal, the brother of Winthrop's wife, who must have come over with the Governor, and returned in the Lion, the first ship which went back. We give in the Appendix a letter of his to Winthrop, dated 10th November, 1629, pledging himself to the enterprise, and also a letter of his brother, Deane Tyndal, discouraging it. See Appendix No. I.

heart, to bear this cross patiently. I know thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distress. Yet, for all these things, (I praise my God,) I am not discouraged; nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those good days here, which will make amends for all.

"I shall expect thee next summer, (if the Lord please,) and by that time I hope to be provided for thy comfortable entertainment. My most sweet wife, be not disheartened; trust in the Lord, and thou shalt see his faithfulness. Commend me heartily to all our kind friends at Castleins, Groton Hall, Mr. Leigh and his wife, my neighbor Cole, and all the rest of my neighbors and their wives, both rich and poor.

"Remember me to them at Assington Hall, and Codenham Hall,¹ Mr. Brand, Mr. Alston, Mr. Mott, and their wives, Goodman Pond, Charles Newton, etc. The good Lord be with thee and bless thee and all our children and servants. Commend my love to them all. I kiss and embrace thee, my dear wife, and all my children, and leave thee in his arms, who is able to preserve you all, and to fulfil our joy in our happy meeting in his good time. Amen.

"Thy faithful husband,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"I shall write to my son John by London."

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"MY DEARE WIFE, — I wrote to thee by my brother Arthur, but I durst write no more then I need not care though it miscarried, for I found him the olde man still; yet I would have kept him to ease my brother, but that his owne desire to returne, & the scarcitye of provisions heer, yielded the stronger reason to let him goe. Now (my good wife) let us ioyne in praylinge o^r mercifull God, that (howsoever he hath afflicted us, both generally & particularly mine owne family in his stroke upon my sonne Henry) yet myselfe & the rest of o^r children &

¹ The ancient seat of Sir Joseph Brand, in Boxford, adjoining Groton.

familye are safe & in health, & that he upholds o^r hearts that we fainte not in all o^r troubles, but can yet waite for a good issue. And howsoever our fare be but coarse in respect of what we formerly had, (pease, puddings & fish, beinge o^r ordinary diet,) yet he makes it sweet & wholesome to us, that I may truly say I desire no better: Besides in this, that he beginnes wth us thus in affliction, it is the greater argument to us of his love, & of the goodnesse of the worke w^{ch} we are about; for Sathan bends his forces against us, & stirres up his instruments to all kinde of mischief, so that I thinke heere are some persons who never shewed so much wickednesse in England as they have doone heer. Therefore be not discouraged (my deare Wife) by anythinge thou shalt heare from hence, for I see no cause to repente of o^r comīng hether, & thou seest (by o^r experience) that God can bringe safe hether even the tenderest women & the youngest children (as he did many in diverse shippes, though the voyage were more teadious then formerly hath been knowne in this season.) Be sure to be warme clothed, & to have store of fresh provisions, meale, eggs putt up in salt or grounde mault, butter, ote meale, pease, & fruits, & a large stronge chest or 2: well locked, to keepe these provisions in; & be sure they be bestowed in the shippe where they may be readily come by, (w^{ch} the boatswaine will see to & the quarter masters, if they be rewarded beforehande,) but for these thinges my sonne will take care: Be sure to have ready at sea 2: or 3: skilletts of severall syzes, a large fryinge panne, a small stewinge panne, & a case to boyle a pudding in; store of linnen for use at sea, & sacke to bestowe among the saylers: some drinkeinge vessells, & peuter & other vessells: & for phisick you shall need no other but a pound of Doctor Wright's¹ *Electuariū*

¹ This was doubtless the same Dr. Nathaniel Wright who was afterwards an eminent physician of Hereford, and assisted Lady Harley in defending Brampton Castle against the Royalists in 1643. — *Anderson's Mem. Women of the Puritan Times*, vol. i. pp. 117–19. He was private physician to Oliver Cromwell in 1650–1. Gov. Edward Hopkins, of Connecticut, bequeathed a piece of plate to him. — *Haven's Origin of Mass. Company; Am. Antiq. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii. p. lxx. Winthrop had been indebted to him before. See *Life and Letters*, vol. i. p. 283.

lenitivā, & his direction to use it, a gallon of scirvy grasse to drinke a litle 5 : or 6 : morninges together, wth some saltpeter dissolved in it, & a litle grated or sliced nutmege.

"Thou must be sure to bringe no more companye then so many as shall have full provisiō for a yeare & halfe, for though the earth heere be very fertile yet there must be tyme & meanes to rayse it; if we have corne enough we may live plentifully. Yet all these are but the meanes w^{ch} God hath ordayned to doe us good by : o^r eyes must be towards him, who as he can wthould blessings from the strongest meanes, so he can give sufficient vertue to the weakest. I am so streightened wth much businesse, as can no waye satisfie myselfe in wrightinge to thee. The Lorde will in due tyme lett us see the faces of each other againe to o^r great comforte : Now the Lord in mercye blesse, guide & supporte thee : I kisse & embrace thee my deare wife. I kisse & blesse you all my deare children, Forth, Mary, Deane, Sam, & the other : the Lorde keepe you all & worke his true feare in yo^r hearts. The blessing of the Lorde be upon all my servants, whom salute from me, Jo : Samford, Amy &c, Goldston, Pease, Chote &c : my good freinds at Castlins & all my good neighbo^{rs}, goodman Cole & his good wife, & all the rest :

"Remember to come well furnished wth linnen, woollen, some more beddinge, brasse, peuter, leather bottells, drinkinge hornes &c : let my sonne provide 12 : axes of severall sorts of the Braintree Smithe, or some other prime workman, whatever they coste, & some Augers great & smale, & many other necessaryes w^{ch} I cant now thinke of, as candles, sope, & store of beife suett, &c : once againe farewell my deare wife.

"Thy faithfull husband JO : WINTHROP.

"CHARLTON IN N : ENGLAND July 23 : 1630."

John Winthrop to his Son John.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. John Winthrop, at Groton, in Suffolk.

"MY GOOD SON, — The blessing of God All-sufficient be upon thee ever. Amen.

"It hath pleased the Lord to bring us hither in peace, (blessed be his name). For the course of our voyage, and other occurrences, you shall understand them by a journal, which I send with my letters to your uncle D. We had a comfortable passage, and I found that love and respect from Capt. Milburne our master, as I may not forget. I pray (if he be returned before you come hither) take occasion to see him, and remember my kind salutations to him and his wife.

"It is like you shall hear (before this come to you) how the Lord hath disposed of your brother Henry. The Lord teach you and the rest by it to remember your Creator in the days of your youth, and to improve your time in his service, while it lasts.

"The unexpected troubles and necessities, which are fallen upon us, will bring a great deal of business and care upon thee; but be not discouraged. It is the Lord, who hath cast it upon thee, and he will uphold and deliver thee.

"We are forced to send to Bristowe for supply of provisions, by Mr. Peirce and Mr. Allerton, for which I have given them a bill of exchange. You must needs take order the money may be provided presently for them, for they can't stay. If all means fail, Mr. Revel hath promised to help me with £100. He hath a bill also for money for provisions, which I took up of him here; so have divers others, which you must take care to see paid.

"For the freight for the ships, you shall receive some bills from Sir Richard, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Dudley; but it is doubtful whether their moneys will be ready. What you can provide of theirs and mine, be sure the Talbot be first discharged, for they will not tarry. There is much likewise to be paid to Mr. Beecher, which may stay awhile. There are other moneys to be paid to Mr. Peirce, which must be provided. If all means fail, you may try Doctor Wright; but I hope you have sold the land, and then that care is at an end. For Mr. Goffe, he hath failed exceedingly in his undertaking, so as he is in debt to many of us, and hath had a great deal more of me

than his due. Therefore pay him no more. I will send you the account for him and the rest, whom I undertook for.

"I shall expect your mother and you and the rest of our company here the next spring, if God will. For directions for your passage, I have written about it to your uncle D. and your mother, and I am tired out with writing and much business. Commend my love and blessing to your brother Forth, and your sister M., my neice Matt. and the rest of our family, and my kind salutations to all my good friends and neighbors, who inquire of us, and to Mr. Nicolson.

"For your sister Winthrop,¹ if she will come over, I will provide for her as mine own; if not, she hath a bond of £400. Yet you know there is not so much due to her; for your brother had much money of me out of the £400 I had of him, besides what he ought to your sister Mary. Yet, if it be to be had, I would pay it her, as it can be raised; but then she must give me a general release.

"If money be brought to you or your uncle Downing for goodman Lockwood, let Mr. Peirce be paid his bill of provisions for him, and bring the rest with you.

"For Forth's coming over, I leave it to my sister Painter² her disposing. If they come, they shall be welcome. These afflictions we have met with need discourage none, for the country is exceeding good, and the climate very like our own; only people must come well provided, and not too many at once. Pease may come, if he will, and such other as you shall think fit, but not many, and let those be good, and but few servants, and those useful ones.

"Take order that a copy of my relation, etc., be sent to Sir Nath. Barnardiston, and my excuse of not writing to him and Sir Wm. Springe, with my salutations to them both; and if Sir Nath. hath put in no money, let him forbear still.

"You must call to Mr. Andrews in Bowe Lane for £20, which Mr. Pincheon hath appointed for you, and you are to

¹ The widow of Henry.

² The widow of Thomas Fones, who had married Rev. Mr. Painter, of Exeter.

pay it, and £30 more, to Mr. Rich. Andrews, at the Mermaid in Cheapside; but you must first inquire if it were lent to us, as we were promised at Hampton. It may be paid soon after Michaelmas next. There is also £208 to be paid to Mr. Cradock, or Mr. Woodward at his house in St. Bartl. near the Exchange, September 8, for which Mr. Johnson and I stood bound; but, if it be not ready, I think Mr. Cradock will get it continued.

"Here is a barrel of neat of Bulbroke's of Wenham. If I did not pay for it, let it be paid.

"If you reckon with Mr. Wall, thus it stands: You receive of him by Mr. Chamber (to whom I desire to be kindly remembered)

The passage for himself, his wife, and a servant, comes to . . .	£16.10
For one cow	15.02
For tonnage of his goods	11.00
	<hr/>
	42.12

"Demand the rest of him, and certify me of it.

"Henry Kingsbury hath appointed money to be paid to you by [blank].

"John Warren hath appointed money to be paid to you by the bond he left with you. He owes beside £10, beside his present provisions.

"Demand of Stone and Bragge of Neyland, £15. You have bond for it.

"Mr. Goffe's and my account stands thus:—

He received of me in England at several payments	£642.00
More of me for my brother Downing	107.02
You have paid him since, by my direction from Hampton	
He is to discount for two mares and a horse, (one Mr. Brand's,) which died by the way	27.00
He is allowed for ninety-six passengers, at £4	384.00
For twenty-four cows, (ten being for my broth. D.)	361.00
For thirty-two tons of goods, at £3.	

"I must end. The Lord God Almighty bless you, and send you all hither in peace. Farewell, my dear son.

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"Commend me to old Pond, and tell him both his sons are well, and remember their duty to him. He must needs send his son John some more provisions, for much of that he brought was spoiled by the way. You must demand money of him. His reckoning stands thus:—

His passage and goods come to	£27.00
One cow	15.00
	<hr/>
	42.00
I had of him	£10.04
	<hr/>
Rest due	32.00

"CHARLTON, July 23, 1630.

"For the country itself, I can discern little difference between it and our own. We have had only two days, which I have observed more hot than in England. Here is as good land as I have seen there, but none so bad as there. Here is sweet air, fair rivers, and plenty of springs, and the water better than in England. Here can be no want of any thing to those, who bring means to raise out of the earth and sea."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. John Winthrop, at Groton, Suffolk.

"CHARLTON, IN NEW ENGLAND, August 14, 1630.

"MY GOOD SON,—I received your letters by Mr. Huson's ship, and do much rejoice, and bless the Lord for the good news of all your welfares. For our condition here, and our voyage hither, I wrote to you, about a fortnight since, by Mr. Revel, but more fully in a journal and relation, which I sent to your uncle Downing; yet I could [not] make any perfect relation, for want of time and leisure, and I am still as much straitened as

before, so as I must refer you and all my friends to my former report as it is. Withal I sent a card of our voyage at sea, which Capt. Milborne drew for me. I wrote, also, how the Lord's hand had been very heavy upon our people in these parts, and that which I conceived to be the reason why so many fell sick, and so many died, and what course you should take when your mother is to come hither, etc. I can now only write a word or two for direction about our affairs; and so I shall leave my blessing with you. First, for the land, (if it be not already sold,) you must sell it speedily, for much debt will lie upon us. For Mr. Appleton, take no money of him, for he can have no cows: there came not on shore one half of them. I had £15 of Mrs. Sands for a cow for her brother Goffe; but he could have none now: ergo, if she will not have him have it at next return, let her have her money again.

"Pay Mr. Goffe no more money, but require the remainder; and, if he refuse to pay it, it were well his bond were put in suit. If you have money to spare, send over some more cows and goats, and bring £100 with you, or 2.

"The beef we had of Mr. Stretton is as sweet and good as if it were but a month powdered. You shall know of other things by your mother's letters. We have powder and pieces enough, but want flints and birdshot and store of chalk. But I must end. The Lord bless you, and send you hither in safety. Farewell, my good son.

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP."

"A great house," it appears, had been built at Charlestown the year previous to Winthrop's arrival; and in this, as we learn from the records of the town, "the Governor and several of the patentees dwelt," while "the multitude set up cottages, booths, and tents about the Town Hill." At Charlestown was held the first Court of Assistants, on the twenty-third day of August, 1630, — Governor Winthrop presiding; at which, the

first thing propounded and settled was "How the ministers should be maintained." At Charlestown, too, Governor Winthrop and some of the principal Assistants formed their first church, the third in order of the Massachusetts churches, on the thirtieth day of July, 1630; when, after appropriate religious exercises, they entered into the following simple but solemn covenant: —

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy, wise, and divine ordinances:

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."¹

The four original signers of this covenant were John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and John Wilson; the latter of whom was elected the first teacher² of the church on the 27th of August following.

Every thing seemed now to betoken that Charlestown was to be the seat of the principal plantation, and ultimately the capital of the Colony; and Governor Winthrop, as we are told in the town-records, "ordered his house to be cut and framed there."³

¹ Buddington's History of the First Church, p. 13.

² Wilson was ordained teacher, or teaching elder, in 1630, and pastor, Nov. 22, 1632. *Emerson's Hist. of the First Church*, pp. 11, 17.

³ Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, p. 379.

But fresh afflictions and discouragements were at hand for Winthrop and all the Company. The Governor's Journal contains the following entry on the last day of September, which tells its own sad story in words which could hardly be mended :—

“About two in the morning, Mr. Isaac Johnson died; his wife, the lady Arbella, of the house of Lincoln, being dead about one month before. He was a holy man, and wise, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the colony.”

Of the Lady Arbella, it was quaintly but beautifully said by Cotton Mather, that “she took New England in her way to heaven;” while, of her excellent husband, the same writer has even more beautifully added, in the words of Sir Henry Wotton, —

“He try'd
To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.”

Of the former, he says that “she left an earthly paradise, in the family of an earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a pure worship in the house of God; and then immediately left that wilderness for the heavenly paradise, whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her.” Of the latter, he adds, “At the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only peace, but joy; and his joy particularly expressed itself that God had kept his eyes open so long as to see one church of the Lord Jesus gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to heaven.”¹

¹ *Magnalia Christi Americana*, book i. ch. 5. — Isaac Johnson was the largest subscriber to the joint stock of the Company, and was one of the “chief pillars” of the

The loss of such friends, under such circumstances, must have been distressing indeed. About the same time, also, died "good Mr. Higginson," the zealous and faithful minister of Salem; Dr. William Gager, the chosen physician of the Company, and one of the deacons of the Charlestown Church; and others of both sexes, more or less conspicuous among the colonists.

Here is a letter from Winthrop to his wife, giving an account of some of these afflictions, but breathing again a spirit of resignation, contentment, and courage, almost incredible to those who know not the power of a Christian's faith and hope. "We here (says he) enjoy God and Jesus Christ. Is not this enough? What would we have more? I thank God, I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming; and, if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions."

Colony. Before leaving England, he made a will, of which that illustrious patriot, John Hampden, was made one of the executors, and John Winthrop another. On the question of his being buried in Boston, see the Introduction to Bridgman's "King's Chapel Burying-ground," by the lamented Ephraim Peabody, D.D. See also Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 552-3. The Lady Arbella was of the family of Clinton, Earls of Lincoln, now Dukes of Newcastle. A romantic interest attaches to her name, and every thing that is lovely in person and character is eagerly associated with it. Her family could hardly have permitted her to leave England, under such circumstances, without preserving a portrait of her; and possibly there may be one in the collection of the Duke of Newcastle at Clumber Park. But, if so, it is one of twenty or thirty which are without name or date; and it is, of course, impossible to identify it. The late Duke (whose visit to America in 1860 with the Prince of Wales will not be forgotten) kindly promised me that New England should have it, if it could ever be identified. Meantime, not even the grave of the Lady Arbella, at Salem, has been ascertained with sufficient exactness to be marked with a monument or stone of any sort. I may add, that, in a family record of 1742, I find a statement that Isaac Johnson and the Lady Arbella "lie both buried in the vault of the Winthrops at Boston." If the statement was well founded (which I greatly doubt), their remains, with those of the Winthrops of the same period, have mouldered into undistinguishable dust.

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"MY DEAR WIFE, — The blessing of God all-sufficient be upon thee and all my dear ones with thee forever.

"I praise the good Lord, though we see much mortality, sickness, and trouble, yet (such is his mercy) myself and children, with most of my family, are yet living, and in health, and enjoy prosperity enough, if the affliction of our brethren did not hold under the comfort of it. The lady Arbella is dead, and good Mr. Higginson, my servant, old Waters of Neyland, and many others. Thus the Lord is pleased still to humble us; yet he mixes so many mercies with his corrections, as we are persuaded he will not cast us off, but, in his due time, will do us good, according to the measure of our afflictions. He stays but till he hath purged our corruptions, and healed the hardness and error of our hearts, and stripped us of our vain confidence in this arm of flesh, that he may have us rely wholly upon himself.

"The French ship, so long expected, and given for lost, is now come safe to us, about a fortnight since, having been twelve weeks at sea; and yet her passengers (being but few) all safe and well but one, and her goats but six living of eighteen. So as now we are somewhat refreshed with such goods and provisions as she brought, though much thereof hath received damage by wet. I praise God, we have many occasions of comfort here, and do hope, that our days of affliction will soon have an end, and that the Lord will do us more good in the end than we could have expected, that will abundantly recompense for all the trouble we have endured. Yet we may not look at great things here. It is enough that we shall have heaven, though we should pass through hell to it. We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ. Is not this enough? What would we have more? I thank God, I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept

better, never had more content of mind, which comes merely of the Lord's good hand ; for we have not the like means of these comforts here, which we had in England. But the Lord is all-sufficient, blessed be his holy name. If he please, he can still uphold us in this estate ; but, if he shall see good to make us partakers with others in more affliction, his will be done. He is our God, and may dispose of us as he sees good.

"I am sorry to part with thee so soon, seeing we meet so seldom, and my much business hath made me too oft forget Mondays and Fridays. I long for the time, when I may see thy sweet face again, and the faces of my dear children. But I must break off, and desire thee to commend me kindly to all my good friends, and excuse my not writing at this time. If God please once to settle me, I shall make amends. I will name now but such as are nearest to thee, my brother and sister Gostlin, Mr. Leigh, etc., Castleins, my neighbor Cole and his good wife, with the rest of my good neighbors, tenants, and servants. The good Lord bless thee and all our children and family. So I kiss my sweet wife and my dear children, and rest "Thy faithful husband,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"I would have written to Maplested, if I had time. Thou must excuse me, and remember me kindly to them all.

"This is the third letter I have written to thee from New England.

"SEPTEMBER 9, 1630."

And here is a business-letter to his son, of the same date : —

John Winthrop to his Son.

"MY GOOD SON, — The good Lord bless you ever.

"I have written to your mother and to your uncle Downing at large of all things here, to which I must refer you, in regard of my much business and little leisure here.

"I shall expect your mother and you and the rest of my company here next spring, (if God will). I pray take order (if it be possible) to make even reckoning with all before you come over, and get a good ship and forty hogsheads of meal at least, well cleansed from the bran, and laid abroad three or four days before it be packed; peas and oatmeal, well dried, as much as you can; good store of dry, Suffolk cheese, brought loose, or packed in very dry malt; butter and tried suet; sugar and fruit; pepper and ginger; store of coarse rugs, both to use and sell; a hogshead of wine vinegar, and another of verjuice, both in good casks and iron-bound. We have lost much by bad casks. Bestow every thing in even hogsheads, if you can; for it will save much in the charge of freight. Bring some good oil, pitch, and tar, and a good piece of an old cable to make oakum; for that which was sent is much lost. Some more cows would be brought, especially two new milch, which must be well mealed and milked by the way, and some goats, especially sheep, (if they can be had). Bring some store of garlick and onions, and conserve of red roses, alum, and aloes, oiled skins, both calf and sheep, and some worsted ribbing of several sizes. This is the third letter I have written to you from here. Commend me to all our friends. My love and blessing to your brother and sisters, your sister Winthrop and cousin Matt. My love and service to Mr. Gurdon and his wife. Salutations to Mr. Jacy, Mr. Chamber, and the rest of the good ministers, Mr. Mott and Mr. Brand. I laid out £15 to Mr. Goffe for a cow for his son. Commend me to all my good neighbors, Mr. Jarrold, William Pond, and the rest. Those who were to have cows delivered here, and failed, must have their money again, my cousin [blank] of Battlesden, £20. I can think of no other, but Mrs. Sands, £15. Commend me to her; and if you see them at Graces, remember me to them. The Lord bless you. Farewell.

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"SEPTEMBER 9, 1630."

The loss of friends, however, was not the only trial which the Company were now called on to meet. Other discouragements began to multiply around them. Provisions were again growing scarce, and the springs at Charlestown failed of that abundant supply of good water which they had promised at the outset. Edward Johnson (an eye-witness), in his Wonder-working Providence, speaks thus of this period:—

"The griefe of this people was further increased by the sore sicknesse which befell among them, so that almost in every family, lamentation, mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them. It would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to teares, no doubt, had they past from one hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in. And that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water; for although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could finde but one spring, and that not to be come at but when the tide was downe."¹

This latter circumstance determined Winthrop and others to abandon their present position, and establish themselves on the neighboring peninsula. Of this step, the early records of Charlestown furnish the following brief but ample account:—

"In the meantime, Mr. Blackstone, dwelling on the other side Charles River alone, at a place by the Indians called Shawmutt, where he only had a cottage, at or not far off the place called Blackstone's Point, he came and acquainted the Governor of an excellent Spring there; withal inviting him and soliciting him thither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr.

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d ser. vol. ii. pp. 87-8.

Johnson and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson, and the greatest part of the church removed thither: whither also the frame of the Governor's house, in preparation at this town, was also (to the discontent of some) carried; where people began to build their houses against winter; and this place was called BOSTON."

The order of the Court of Assistants, that "Trimontaine shall be called Boston," was passed on the 7th (17th) of September, 1630; and the first General Court was holden there on the 19th (29th) of October following: but the precise date of Governor Winthrop's removal to the peninsula upon which Boston was to be founded is not known. Even his own Journal does not chronicle the fact. The truth is, that he was so engrossed with public business, and so harassed by private cares, at this early period after his arrival, that his daily record of events is somewhat meagre, and not always exact. It is not wanting, however, in interesting incidents. Here is an entry, for example, bearing date Oct. 25, 1630, which we hardly know whether to refer to Charlestown or Boston; leaving it uncertain, therefore, which of the two places can claim to have been the scene of what was unquestionably the first Temperance movement in Massachusetts, or in America:—

"The governour, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse."¹

¹ Winthrop, in this reform, was nearly half a century before Sir Matthew Hale, who left a solemn injunction to his grandchildren against the drinking or pledging of healths.

There is reason for thinking that "the Great House" in Charlestown was still the Governor's abode, when this reform was first introduced into the social circles of New England.

In the following month, Governor Winthrop had undoubtedly left Charlestown; and here is his first letter from "Boston in Mattachusetts," in which, after recounting to his wife some of the sad experiences of his pilgrimage thus far, he adds, "My dear wife, we are here in a paradise." Surely no one ever more entirely fulfilled the idea of the motto upon his family arms — *Spes vincit thronum* ("Hope wins a throne"¹) — than this brave-hearted leader of the Massachusetts Colony. Amid all his trials, he seems to have furnished a noble illustration of that heroic spirit of endurance, which Milton soon afterwards so admirably exhibited in his touching sonnet upon his own blindness: —

"Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward."

This first letter from Boston shall conclude the present chapter.

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"To Mrs. Winthrop, the elder, at Groton.

"MY SWEET WIFE, — The blessing of the Almighty be upon thee and thine forever.

¹ The English version of the Winthrop motto needs only an *I* to make it an anagram of Iohannes Winthrop; and this was perhaps its origin. Indeed, it has often been found in the family papers, — "I-Hope wins a throne."

"There is a ship arrived at Plimouth, some thirty miles from us, which came from London the 10th of August, and was twelve weeks at sea in such tempests as she spent all her masts; yet, of sixty passengers, she lost but one. All the rest (through the Lord's great mercy) are safe and in health. Edy of Boxted, who came in her, told me, a fortnight since, that he had many letters in the ship for me; but I hear not yet of them, which makes me now (having opportunity to send to Plimouth) to write these few lines to thee, lest the ship should be gone before I have received my letters, and can return answer to them. Thou shalt understand by this, how it is with us since I wrote last, (for this [is] the third or fourth letter I have written to thee since I came hither,) that thou mayest see the goodness of the Lord towards me, that, when so many have died, and many yet languish, myself and my children are yet living and in health. Yet I have lost twelve of my family, viz. Waters and his wife, and two of his children: Mr. Gager and his man: Smith of Buxall and his wife and two children: the wife of Taylor of Haverill and their child: my son H. makes the twelve. And, besides many other of less note, as Jeff. Ruggle of Sudbury,¹ and divers others of that town, (about twenty,) the Lord hath stripped us of some principal persons, Mr. Johnson and his lady, Mr. Rossiter, Mrs. Phillips and others unknown to thee. We conceive, that this disease grew from ill diet at sea, and proved infectious. I write not this to discourage thee, but to warn thee and others to provide well for the sea, and, by God's help, the passage will be safe and easy, how long soever. Be careful (I entreat thee) to observe the directions in my former letters; and I trust that that God, who hath so graciously preserved and blessed us hitherto, will bring us to see the faces of each other with abundance of joy. My dear wife, we are here in a paradise. Though we have not beef and mutton etc., yet (God be praised) we want them not; our Indian corn answers for all. Yet here

¹ In the margin of the letter, is added, "And one of L. Kedby his sons."

is fowl and fish in great plenty. I will here break off, because I hope to receive letters from thee soon, and to have opportunity of writing more largely. I will say nothing of my love to thee, and of my longing desires towards thee. Thou knowest my heart. Neither can I mention salutations to my good friends, other than in general. In my next, I hope to supply all. Now the Lord, our good God, be with thee and all my children and company with thee. Grace and peace be with you all. So I kiss my sweet wife and all my dear children, and bless you in the Lord. Farewell.

"Thy faithful husband,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"BOSTON IN MATTACHUSETS, November 29, 1630.

"Thou must excuse my not writing to my son John and other of my friends at this time ; for I defer it till I receive my letters."

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST WINTER IN NEW ENGLAND. IMPENDING FAMINE. FAST
TURNED INTO THANKSGIVING. LETTERS TO HIS WIFE AND SON.
WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR. BLESSING OF THE BAY.
NIGHT SCENE AT MISTICK. VISIT TO SALEM.

THE first winter after the arrival of the Governor and Company was one of great severity and of great scarcity. The Charlestown records tell us that "people were necessitated to live upon clams and muscles and ground-nuts and acorns, and these got with much difficulty in the winter-time." Winthrop was not exempt from the common calamity. "People were very much tired and discouraged," the records add, "especially when they heard that the Governor himself had the last batch of bread in the oven." In anticipation of this impending famine, he had despatched the *Lion*, Capt. Pierce, early in July, to the nearest port in England (Bristol) for a cargo of provisions. But six months had now elapsed, and the ship was not forthcoming. On the 5th of February, 1631, Cotton Mather describes Winthrop as distributing, with signal humanity, "the last handful of meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door;" and "at that instant," he adds, "they spied a ship arrived at the harbour's mouth, laden with provisions for them all."¹

¹ *Magnalia Christi Americana*, vol. i. book 2, ch. 4.

It would be difficult to find a more impressive and touching picture of the early condition of the fathers of Massachusetts than that presented by the Governor of the Colony, with the last batch of bread in his own oven, dispensing the remaining handful of meal to the poor at his door. Nor would it be easy to recall, since the days of the poor widow who ministered to the necessities of the prophet, and whose "barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail," a more striking example of humanity providentially rewarded than is found in the arrival of a shipload of provisions at the very moment when this picture was presented.

A day had been previously appointed for a general humiliation, "to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer;" but the arrival of the Lion, bearing this much-needed relief, turned their mourning into joy, and gave them "the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

The Governor's Journal says only, —

"22 (February). We held a day of thanksgiving for this ship's arrival by order from the Governour and Council, directed to all the plantations."

This must have been the first regularly appointed Massachusetts Thanksgiving Day; and no one can doubt that it was observed with hearts as grateful, if not with viands as sumptuous, as any of its long and honored line of successors. To Winthrop himself, however, the day could have had but few of those charms which now surround it. His wife and most of his children were still in England; and the earnestness with which he looked for their companionship and assistance is abundantly

manifested by his letters at this period. Here are two of them, which are full of affectionate yearning for their arrival; and the second of which bears delightful testimony to the character and conduct of his "loving and dutiful son."

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"MY DEAR WIFE, — I have small hope, that this should come to thy hands, in regard of the long stay of the ship here, so as thou mayest be well onward of thy way hither before these can come to England. Therefore I write little to thyself and my son, and those whom I expect to see here shortly, if it shall so please the Lord. And blessed be his holy and glorious name, that he hath so far magnified his mercy towards us, that, when so many have been laid in their graves since we parted, yet he hath pleased to preserve us unto this hope of a joyful meeting, that we may see the faces of each other again, the faces of our children and sweet babes. These things I durst scarce think of heretofore; but now I embrace them oft, and delight my heart in them, because I trust, that the Lord, our God, who hath kept me and so many of my company in health and safety among so many dead corpses, through the heat of the summer and the cold of winter, and hath also preserved thee in the peril of childbirth, and upheld thy heart in the midst of so many discouragements, with the life of all thy company, will, of his own goodness and free mercy, preserve us and ours still, that we shall meet in joy and peace, which I daily pray for, and shall expect in the Lord's good time; who still continue his favor and blessing upon thee and our sweet babes and all thy company. For our little daughter,¹ do as thou thinkest best. The Lord direct thee in it. If thou bringest her, she will be more trouble to thee in the ship than all the rest. I know my sister will be tender of her, till I may send for her. Bring Amy and Ann Gostlin with thee, if thou canst. If they come

¹ Born after his departure from England.

not, they will much wrong themselves. They need fear no want here, if they will be guided by God's word ; otherwise they can look to prosper nowhere. I praise God, I want nothing but thee and the rest of my family. Commend my love and blessing to them all, and to all my neighbours and friends ; but I have desired my brother Gostlin to perform that. Remember to bring juice of lemons to sea with thee, for thee and thy company to eat with your meat as sauce. But of these things, my son hath direction. So again I kiss thee my sweet wife, and commend thee and all ours to the Lord, and rest

"Thine,

"Jo. WINTHROP.

"MARCH 28, 1631."

John Winthrop to his eldest Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. John Winthrop, at London.

"If he be come away, my brother Downing may open this letter.

"MY GOOD SON, — The blessing of the Almighty be upon thy soul and life forever.

"Among many of the sweet mercies of my God towards me in this strange land, where we have met many troubles and adversities, this is not the least, and that which affords much comfort to my heart, that he hath given me a loving and dutiful son. God all-sufficient reward thee abundantly for all thy care and pains in my affairs, and for all that love and duty thou hast showed to thy good mother. I doubt not but thou shalt find it in outward blessings, for thou art under the promise of having thy days prolonged ; but I desire especially thou mayest find it in the manifestation of the good will of the Lord towards thee, and in those spiritual blessings, which may fatten thy soul.

"This ship staying so long here, I am almost out of hope that my letters should come to thy hands ; for, though I think very long till I see you all here, yet I would rather you stayed, though it were two or three months, to come with Mr. Peirce, partly because of his skill and care of his passengers, and partly that we might be the better provided of housing, &c. to enter-

tain you. For we are much straitened yet that way, and we have had divers houses burnt, and now, within these two days, Mr. Sharp and Mr. Colburne, both of our town, had their houses burnt to the ground, and much goods lost. Thus it pleaseth the Lord still to humble us. I doubt not but he will do us the more good at the last.

"I have written to your uncle D.¹ concerning all our business, fearing you should be come away. I have sent the assignment sealed. I left all my bonds and writings in my cupboard at Groton, or else at London.

"Bring no provision with you but meal and peas, and some oatmeal, and sugar, fruit, figs, and pepper, and good store of saltpetre, and conserve of red roses, and mithridate, good store of pitch, and ordinary suet or tallow. Bring none but wine vinegar, and not much of that, and be sure that the cask be good; store of oiled calves-skins of the largest; and the strongest welt leather shoes and stockings for children; and hats of all sizes. If you could bring two or three hundred sheep-skins and lamb-skins, with the wool on, dyed red, it would be a good commodity here; and the coarsest woollen cloth, (so it be not flocks,) and of sad colours, and some red; millstones, some two foot and some three foot over, with bracings ready cast, and rings, and mill-bills; store of shoemakers' thread and hobnails; chalk and chalk-line; and a pair or two, or more, of large steel compasses; store of coarse linen; some birdlime.

"When you have cleared all things in England, if you have any money left, you may bring some with you, (not above £100,) and the rest leave with your uncle D. or dispose of it as your own occasions may require. Anywise, Matt.² must have £400, and there will be much due to your sister Winthrop,³ which were best to be left in England. But you must advise with your uncle D. about these things; for I am so full of business here, as I can't think of mine own affairs as I should. You must

¹ Emanuel Downing.

² Martha Fones, the Governor's niece.

³ The widow of Henry.

also consider what you would have for yourself, and how you would employ it.

"I never had letter yet from your brother F.¹ If he intends to come hither, it were good he sold his land, and paid his sister her £100, which he promised when I put over his land to him. You shall need bring no more cows, for I have enough. The good Lord bless you, and bring you and all my company hither in safety. So I rest

"Your loving father, JO. WINTHROP.

"MASSACHUSETTS, March 28, 1631.

"I hope the Lord hath provided a good husband for your sister Winthrop. Mr. Coddington is well affected to her. If he proceed, I wish you to further it; for he is a godly man, and of good estate."

On the eighteenth day of May, 1631, a General Court was held at Boston, when Winthrop was again chosen Governor; and, as his Journal adds, "all the free-men of the commons were sworn to this government." A few weeks previously, his cares and responsibilities had been materially increased by the departure for England of not a few of those upon whom he most leaned for advice and aid. His excellent friend Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Wilson the minister, had all left him; the first never to return,²

¹ Forth Winthrop, of whom we shall hear once more presently.

² Sir Richard's return was expected in 1633, and he was elected an Assistant accordingly at the May election. — *Palfrey's Hist. of N. E.*, vol. i. p. 366. But, though he never came back, he kept up an earnest interest in the welfare of the Colony. He was actively engaged with the Lords Brooke and Say and Sele, and other puritans, in promoting the first settlement of Connecticut; and "befriended our country in England (as Mr. Savage has justly said) in thought, word, and deed." While he was in Holland in 1644 (where the tradition is that he went as ambassador), a portrait of him was taken (by Rembrandt, it is said), which is now among the treasures of his descendants in Massachusetts. A prouder memorial of him than even a portrait by Rembrandt is found in his letter against intolerance, addressed to Rev. John Cotton and Rev. John Wilson, probably

and the others for a more or less protracted visit to their native land. Not only was he thus deprived of some of his best counsellors both in civil and spiritual affairs, but it will be seen, too, by the following passage in his Journal, that he was relied upon to do a part of the ministerial work of Mr. Wilson during his absence, and thus to undertake at once the highest obligations both of Church and State:—

"29 (March). Sir Richard Saltonstall and his two daughters, and one of his younger sons, (his two eldest sons remained still in the country,) came down to Boston, and stayed that night at the Governour's, and the next morning, by seven of the clock, accompanied with Mr. Pierce and others in two shallops, they departed to go to the ship riding at Salem. The Governour gave them three drakes¹ at their setting sail, the wind being N. W. a stiff gale and full sea. Mr. Sharp went away at the same time in another shallop.

"About 10 of the clock, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Wilson, and divers of the congregation, met at the governour's, and there Mr. Wilson, praying and exhorting the congregation to love, etc., commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fit for it, viz., the governour, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell the elder. Then he desired the governour to commend himself and the rest

about the year 1650. — *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 4th series, vol. ii. pp. 171-2. His eldest son, Richard, who married a daughter of Brampton Gurdon, Esq., of Assington Hall, Suffolk County, England, spent the greater part of his life in New England, leaving descendants of the highest respectability. One of them, Gurdon Saltonstall, was Governor of Connecticut for sixteen years, — 1708-1724. Another, of a later generation, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, was a distinguished member of Congress for several years; and died, universally respected and lamented, in 1845.

¹ A previous transcriber had literally made *ducks* of this word, and so it stands in the first publication of this portion of Winthrop's History of New England; but Mr. Savage deciphered the word correctly in his invaluable edition, and added a note informing us that drakes were small pieces of artillery which were fired in honor of Sir Richard at his departure.

to God by prayer ; which being done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charlestown to go by land to the ship."

Winthrop seems to have found time, however, for all and more than all that could have been expected of him ; and we soon afterwards find him making note of a most interesting occurrence in the progress of the little plantation, and in the history of New-England navigation and commerce : —

"July 4. The governor built a bark at Mistick, which was launched this day, and called the Blessing of the Bay."

The attentive reader can hardly have omitted to observe the beautiful coincidence which exists between the dates of some of the most memorable occurrences in our early colonial history, and those of some of the great events of our more recent national career. Thus the Governor and Company of Massachusetts set out from Salem for the Bay on the 17th of June, and probably encamped that night not far from what was afterwards known as Bunker Hill. Thus, too, the first Thanksgiving Day of the Colony was on the 22d of February ; and the Blessing of the Bay was launched on the 4th of July. The change of old style into new would, indeed, destroy these coincidences ; but as long as the dates shall stand, as they still do, on the printed page, the associations which they suggest cannot fail to be cherished with an almost superstitious fondness.

Mistick, where the Blessing of the Bay was built, and launched on the 4th of July, 1631, was the summer residence of Governor Winthrop for some years ; and a few

months after this event, on the 6th of September, we find the Court of Assistants granting "to Mr. Governor six hundred acres of land, to be set forth by metes and bounds near his house at Mistick, to enjoy it to him and his heirs forever." This farm, which he named the Ten Hills, and which is known by the same name to this day,¹ was the scene of a little incident on the night of the 11th of October, which affords a vivid idea of the condition of the neighborhood at the time, as well as of the courage and character of the Governor. Nothing could be more graphic than the following description from the Journal:—

"11. The governour, being at his farm house at Mistick, walked out after supper, and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf, (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves, etc. ;) and, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as, in coming home, he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty. There he stayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket, (for he always carried about him match and a compass, and in summer time snakeweed,) he made a good fire near the house, and lay down upon some old mats, which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (through God's mercy) a warm night; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning, there came thither an Indian

¹ The Ten-Hills Farm, or a considerable part of it, remained in the Winthrop Family until 1677. In 1740, it became the property of the Temple Family. It has more recently been known as a stock-farm, under the management of Col. Samuel Jaques. It lies midway between Charlestown Neck and Medford Village, bordering on Mystic River. An original plan of it, dated October, 1637, and indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "Ten-Hills Farme," shows that large portions of it were densely wooded at that time. It was so called because Ten Hills could be counted around it.

squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out ; yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servants having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and hallooed in the night, but he heard them not."

To pass a long October night alone in a wilderness frequented by wild beasts and wilder men, sometimes —

"Pacing through the forest,
Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy ;"

sometimes gathering fuel, and warming himself at a fire of his own kindling ; sometimes lying sleepless on the ground without even a cloak for covering,—was no light experience for any man. It may be safely asserted, that no other governor of Massachusetts has ever endured the like. Few things could be more characteristic of the man and of the times than Winthrop's attempt to keep his courage up by "sometimes singing psalms." We see no reason to question that the attempt was successful. Doubtless, however, he kept his powder dry also, as he fortunately "took a piece in his hand" when he walked out.

On the 25th of the same month, the Governor seems to have made an official visit to Salem ; and his account of the journey, though very brief, gives a good idea of "a royal progress" in those days : —

"25. The governour, with Capt. Underhill and others of the officers, went on foot to Sagus, and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endecott, etc., and, the 28th, they returned to Boston by the ford at Sagus River, and so over at Mistick."

On his return from this visit, a violent storm occurred in the Bay, which did great damage to the Governor's stone house at Mistick, which was still unfinished, — washing two sides of it down to the ground. But, a day or two afterwards, an event occurred, which must have made him forget, for a while at least, all his trials and troubles. We are not quite ready, however, for the record of that event; and our readers must be content to be carried back once more to Groton in Old England, where so large a part of the family of the Governor had been left when he came over, and where they had undergone experiences which cannot be omitted from his domestic history.

CHAPTER V.

THE BIRTH OF A DAUGHTER AT GROTON. THE SALE OF GROTON MANOR. THE MARRIAGE OF JOHN WINTHROP, JUN. THE DEATH OF FORTH WINTHROP. CORRESPONDENCE OF MARGARET WINTHROP AND HER SON JOHN. THEIR VOYAGE TO AMERICA.

WE have seen, that, when Winthrop came over to New England, he brought with him his second son, Henry (who was drowned so soon after his arrival); and two of his younger sons, Adam and Stephen. He left behind him his eldest son John, his third son Forth, his daughter Mary, and his two youngest children, Deane and Samuel. His wife also remained behind, and gave birth to a daughter not long after the Arbella had lost sight of land. Anne Winthrop, the third of that name (for the Governor had lost two infant daughters, named Anne, in 1614 and 1615), was baptized at Groton on the 20th of April, 1630.¹

The following letter from the mother was probably written soon after her recovery from this confinement:—

Margaret Winthrop to her Son John.

“To my very loving sonne Mr. John Winthrope at Mr. Downinges house in Fleet Strete neare the Condite these —

“MY GOOD SONNE, — I should longe ere this have ritten to thee, & given thee thanks for thy kinde letters, but I must now

¹ The wife of Henry also gave birth to a daughter (so soon to be fatherless), which was baptized May 9, 1630.

veryfy that proverbe, better late then not at all. I trust heere-after I shall have more leisure to right to thee, and doe place much comfort in thee, & knowe thou wilt be a great helpe to me in thy father's absence. I am sory I cannot show my love to thee as I desyre, or expresse my affections as they are, in these fewe lines, but I shall allways retaine a lovinge hart toward thee, & wilbe ready to doe any thinge for thee that is in my power, as I know thou wilt doe for me. Thearfore my good sonne let us joine together in maninging thy father's affayres in his abcence, and come home to me as soone as thou canest. I can not right much to thee the wether is so cold, & thus with my best love to thyselfe, my brother and sister Downinge, I leave off for this time and commit you to God.

"Your lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROPE.

"You shall receive by Welles the caryer a great chest of linnin, to be sent away with the rest of your fathers thinges."¹

The younger Winthrop was in London at this time, busily engaged in attending to his father's affairs, and particularly in making arrangements for the sale of the estate at Groton. It seems that Brampton Gurdon, the High Sheriff of Suffolk, proposed at first to buy the manor. The three letters which follow relate mainly to the negotiations on this subject, though they contain also some interesting items of general news:—

¹ On this letter, John Winthrop, jun., has written the rough draught of his reply, as follows: "I received your lovinge letters & returne you many thanks for this & all other kindneses & love w^{ch} you have pleased to bestow upon me. I desire you, if I be worthy to have any parte of your undeserved love, that you would add this speciall favour to so many former, to assure yourselfe of my dutiful & faithfull carriage towards you now in my fathers absence, in every respect where & when soever my best diligence, care, & endeavours may be any waies usefull & commanded by you."

John Winthrop, Jr., to his Father.

"To the right worth my much honored father John Winthrop Esq. In
New England.

"LONDON: Decemb: 9. 1630.

"S^r, — My humble duty remembred unto you, may you please to understand y^t since my last to you by M^r Peirce I received yours of the 9th of Septem: by the Guift: they came to my hands about the first of this month. Yours to Mr. Gooffe were broken open by the purser and maister aboard the ship & read, as I am informed by such passengers as were eye-witnesses: By my last I wrote you concerning the sale of your lands, that we were to finish it the last terme, & that you should expect us the next spring; but it hath pleased God otherwise to dispose, for by reason of some defect in the fine, w^{ch} was acknowledged by you before you went over; for by that the ffeoffees had power to convey only the mannour, w^{ch} by the wrightings apeares to be little above one hundred acres, because all that w^{ch} hath beene laid out in ioynter, is severed frō the Mannour, & cānot now passe by the name of Maneriñ: Besides the royalties were omitted in the fine, this Mr. Gurdons Counsell had not found out till the end of the terme, when they were ready to have sealed the wrightings. Our agrement now is that the ffeoffees shall give possession of the whole, & he is to pay downe 1000^{li} before next terme, & 1000^{li} more at o^r Lady, & to retaine 1800^{li} till the returne of a fine to be acknowledged by you there, & after by my mother & us heere. By reason of this I say I have beene both disappointed of monies for the payment of debts & making any provitions, as I was determined; & also o^r Journey is of necessity protracted till we heare from you againe & receive the *dedimus potestatem* & concordance & Indenture, executed there by you; for till you have acknowledged the fine, my mothers will not be accepted, therefore for the more certainty hereof we have taken out 3 *dedimus potestatē*, to send to you by three severall passages one whereof together wth a Con-

cordance, & an Indenture to lead the uses, I send you together with these, the other shalbe sent as God shall give opportunity : o^r Counsells direction for the execution of them, w^{ch} they desire you to observe is this ; first, that the Indenture to leade the uses be first sealed & delivered by you, before you doe acknowledge the fine (M^r Gurdon desireth that Mr. Ludlow & goodman Kingsbury of Assingtō be 2 of the witnesses to it) : secondly that the Co^mmissioners that shall there execute the *Dedimus*, doe deliver into many of the passingers hands or sailers, ioyntly, that one may be living to make affidavit of it heere, if the other should die : and such as may come to Londō for that purpose. You may please to send it to my uncle Downings, & besides give notice by some other letter to me or some other by what ship & what person it is sent, also what persons there be that may make affidavit. Thirdly that if all the three *Dedimus* come to your hands that you acknowledge them all, & first seale & deliver theire Indentures. The first that cometh to our hands will serve, the other we shall cancell. We have now peace wth Spaine, w^{ch} I cōceive may be a great helpe to the plantation, in o^r freer passing to & fro, & vent for fish & helping us wth Cattell at easier rates, & I hope store of Corne too w^{ch} I shall certify you of further heerafter. I have but short notice of this occation, & hope to have another suddenly. So for p^rsent desiring your praiers & blessings I rest,

"Your Obedient Sonne

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"My mother, God be thanked, is in good health but doth not know of this suddaine occation of writing : my brothers & sisters & the rest of o^r friends are well. I remember my love to my brothers, & my service to M^r Johnson & the rest of the gentlemen.

"Mr. Cradock hath procured the 200^{li} to be continued till March, he is very ill, being not cured of a hurte w^{ch} he received in his scull in summer. Mr. Burrows sonne saith you owe him 4^{li} besides the 30^{li} 12^s for w^{ch} he had the bill. I have not yet rec^d mony for S^r Richards fraught : the rest is all paid. I am

much beholding to Mr Kerby, he lent me 100^{li} freely till Christmas; I should otherwise beene much shortened, for the fraught."

John Winthrop, Jr., to his Father.

"To the right worth my much honored father John Winthrop Esq. Governor of the Mattachusetts, In New-England.

"LONDON April: 16: 1631.

"S^r,—My humble duty remembred unto you, may you please to understand y^t, since my last letters, w^{ch} I sent by Mr Allerton, wherein I wrote you word that we had not yet any Chapman for your lands, we are come this last weeke to an agreement about it, wth one Mr. Warren, a grocer of this Citty, an acquaintance of goodman Pips & goodman Lambert, & by them procured to deale for it. He hath but newly carried the writings to his Counsell, & therefore we have no certaine answeare whether he will goe through but expect this next weeke, & I hope I shall have occasion to wright you of the conclusion of it before this ship (the Friendship) shall sett saile from Barstable. The price we have agreed for is 4200^{li} whereof 2000^{li} to be paid at midsommer, the rest at six & six monthes, my mother to continue in the house till next spring. Since Mr Gurdon broke off we have had 3 or 4 about it but none would offer above 4000^{li}. I have paid Mr. Gurdon 200^{li} of his six hundred whereof 100^{li} I borrowed of my uncle Downing, & 100^{li} of Mr. Kerby: another 100^{li} I must paye him as soone as I can procure it, & the other 3 hundred I shall have till mid somer payinge use for it:

"When this ship went first out (w^{ch} was soone after Christide, of w^{ch} & their comīng backe Mr Hatherly the bearer hereof can better informe you) I sent wth it diverse letters & a *dedimus protestatem*, to acknowledge a fine, wth advise in my letters of the reason we were forced to a *dedimus* for a new fine. I give Mr. Hatherly directions to enquire out these letters & *dedimus*, & receive them of the M^r of the ship or whom else Mr. Aller-

ton delivered them to, but least those letters should miscarry I will againe set downe wherein their Counsell find your fine and Deed to the feoffees defective, they havinge not power to give assurance of the whole estate to the buyer. The former fine conveying most of the lands by the name mannor, now they say that whatsoever hath beene severed from the mannor heretofore by any Joynters, that cannot passe under the name of mann^r, therefore we were forced to take out a new *dedimus* for you to acknowledge a fine in New-England, w^{ch} was done whilst we were agreed wth Mr. Gurdon for it, & therefore made to him: but it is as good though now we sell it to another. We sent another *dedimus* by M^r Allerton, & reserve one still to be sent by some other ship when there be occation, having taken out 3 lest one or other might miscarry. They can make no full assurance of your land till they receive backe one of them, therefore desire they may be sent backe wth the first.

"We now expect wth longinge to heare from you of your health & welfare, & of the Company wth you, and are much grieved that we have beene hindred from our intended Voyage this spring. My mother, brothers & sisters, & all our friends at Groton, are well. I received letters from them this weeke, but they know not of this occasion of wrighting to you, for I knew not of it myself till yesterday: we are all well heere save my aunt Downing who hath still a quartaine ague but goeth abroad upon her well daies. My wife remembreth her duty to you; my uncle & aunt Downing remember their love unto you. Thus desiring your praiers & blessing I comend you to the tuition of the Allmighty & humbly take my leave.

"Your obedient Sonne

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"The Spaniard hath a mighty fleete prepared to goe ag^t the Dutch at Parnambuco, who are very strong there, & have sent out strong fleets, also. You will have the newes of France in my uncle Downings letters by Mr. Allerton: the French Kings brother is wth the Duke Lorraine. The King of Sweden p^rvail-eth in Germany, he hath lately given Tilly an overthrow wth a

small army ag^t his mighty army. Some say he received some light wounds in pursuite of Tilly, & had his horse slaine under him. The Duke of Bavaria is dead, and the protestant p^rovinces have appointed a diet at Leipsic, it is hoped they will doe something for the Palsgrave.

"Corne was once risen heere to 14 & 15^s a bushell, but now is fallen to 11 & 12^s.

"We have had hitherto a very seasonable tyme, & likelihood of a very fruitfull yeare."

John Winthrop, Jr., to his Father.

"To the right worth my much honoured father John Winthrop Esqr. Governo^r of the Massachusetts In New-Eng^d.

"LONDON April 30. 1631.

"S^r, — My humble duty remembered unto you, may you please to understand that M^r Peirce wth all his company arrived heere in health & safety yesterday being the 29th of this p^rsent, by whome I received the Joyfull & welcome newes of your health, & welfare to my great comfort. Your letters were sesonable to give satisfaction to many, that they were of soe fresh date, & brought relation of a winter wholly passed. My uncle Downing is very well satisfied wth your reasons you give him for the Country. We had once made an agreement wth some m^rchants & Captaine Cleyborne for to deliver 100 tunnes of Indian wheat frō Virginia to you, w^{ch} they had covenanted to deliver before or soone after harvest, the Copy of w^{ch} agreement I thinke M^r Humfries sent over by M^r Allerton, w^{ch} was intended but hath not yet beene sealed by us. My uncle Downing M^r Humfry & myselfe were the undertakers in it, but now the ship having delaied her getting forth so long so as we could not see it possible to be delivered so soone, we have broken off that covenant, & my uncle Downing & myself doe covenant wth them fourty tunne, whereof 20 is for your selfe, the other 20 is for my uncle Downings owne account, w^{ch} if it be delivered unto you he desires you to keepe his 20 tunne safe

till you heare further from him. Mr. Humfry will likewise send twenty tunne & Mr. Cottington 20 : likewise Mr. Cradock 20, & others, but we shall wright you particularly thereof by the ship that bringeth it, w^{ch} is the Affrica, whereof Capt : Cleyborne is Comāder. He & the m^rchants that set him out offer us to bring what corne we will for fish, & for this would take fysh of you if you could provide it for them. This corne we understand they buy of the natives there for trucke, there is great store all alongst the Coast, from a little to the southward of you to Florida & beyond, etc, & to be had for toyes, beads, copper, tooles, knives, glasses & such like. Concerning your land I can add little to that I wrote about a fourtnight since, w^{ch} I suppose will come to your hands wth these, by M^r Hatherly. We expect all the feoffees in towne together this weeke, then I thinke we shall make a full Conclusion wth M^r Warren, or breake off : our occasions requiring monies for the satisfying of such monies as are owing, & the want of full power in the feoffees for the giving of assurance in the whole, & the uncertainty of the tyme of the returne of the fine from you, puts us upon much disadvantage in the sale. M^r Peirse is very earnest to have us goe over this sūmer, & we are all as earnest and desirous to goe, but I feare it wilbe so long ere the fine I sent to you doe returne, that it wilbe too late in the yeare. My mother, brothers & sisters, & the rest of o^r freinds at Groton are well, we heard from them this weeke, they have yet scarce the letters from you, I sent them away yesterday as soone as I received them. My wife hath beene heere wth me awhile but is now going downe againe, having acknowledged satisfaction to the Court of Aldermen for her portion. She remembreth her duty to you. I should be larger & write of other things but I feare the ship may be gone, or my letter otherwise miscarry before it cometh to Mr. Hatherly, for the day is past w^{ch} they appointed to be gone, but I would howsoever adventure these that you might understand of the receipt of yours, & those other particulars. Thus wth my duty againe remembred, desiring your praiers & blessing, I comēd you to Gods protection & rest

"Your Obedient Sonne,

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"My uncle Downing desireth you to buy 6 goats for M^r Sewell & three sowes : the goats he hath agreed for at 40^s a peice & the sowes at 30 shillings apeice, & to deliver them all to goodman Perkins for M^r Seawell. For Cowes my uncle Downing doth referre it to you, whether you thinke he shall need have any more, for Mr. Allerton is to deliver him six &c. He & my aunt remember their loves to you, she is not yet ridd of hir ague, but on her well dayes goeth abroad, having 2 daies well & one sicke &c. The bill w^{ch} you sent from M^r John Dillingham of 9th will not be paid, for his kinsman to whom he sent it refuseth to pay it, & tells me he knoweth not what is become of his brother.

"POSTSCRIPT.

"For those Goats & sowes w^{ch} my uncle Downing desires you to buy for him to be delivered to goodman Perkins for Mr. Seawell, he desires you not to give above the prises before written, for soe he giveth to Mr. Allerton for those he is to deliver him, & thinketh you may have them so at Plymouth."

In the two last of these letters, the younger Winthrop alludes to his wife. He had been married to his cousin, Martha Fones, on the 8th of February, 1631.¹ And here we have two letters from his mother, — one of them to his wife, and the other to himself, — addressed to them while they were in London, and evidently belonging to this period, though unhappily without date : —

¹ I find among the family papers a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, allowing John Winthrop, jun., and Martha Fones, to be married, without further publication, either in the parish Church at Groton, or in the Church of St. Lawrence at Ipswich. It is dated the 20th of February, 1629. This looks as if they had intended to be married before the Governor sailed for America. But if the date given by Mr. Savage from the Groton records, and adopted in the text, be correct, there was doubtless some good reason for its postponement to the following year. The license is in Latin, very much abbreviated; and I am indebted to Charles Folsom, Esq., for deciphering and translating it. It is signed by Nicholas Weston, Registrar, and by Nathaniel Brent, the translator of the History of the Council of Trent, who was at this time Vicar-General of the Archbishop.

Margaret Winthrop to Martha Winthrop.

"To hir very lovinge daughter Mrs. Martha Winthrop, these dd.

"LOVINGE DAUGHTER, — I am sory that time did so prevent me, as I could not right to thee by the caryer, but haveinge now another mesenger I must neede right a word or two, though I haue no matter of wayte to impart to you, onely an intercorce of love betwene us w^{ch} will take all ocasions to shewe it selfe wheare it finds good entertainment. I doe very much and often wish for my deare sonne and yourselfe, for my owne comfort, but in regard of his manyfoulde imployments I must the more paciently beare his longe abcence. I think now the time the longer the nearer it approaches for newes from New England. I shalbe the more ioyfull when it comes if it be good, or if it be bad the more oppressed with grefe. I hope I shall heare shortly, when y^{or} horssees shall come up. If my sonne haue settled his busines, but I thinke he cannot [*torn*] much before [*torn, a whole line*] can heare, he may come downe and bringe you and goe up againe, but I shall leaue it to his own descresion. I thanke God we are all heare in health. My daughter Winthrop is much imployed in her surgurye¹ and hath very good successe. My cosin Anne is gone home to hir mother, and so my companye is less in the parler. You had neede come home to helpe to increace it againe. My daughter, Mary, I thinke liked hir coote well. I am shure I did and thanke you for it. I am now shortned in time which makes my pen rune faster than my wit. And thus with my best love to thy good Husband, my brother and sister Downinge, thy owne selfe, and all the rest of my frends I commit you to God.

"Your lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROPE.

"Deane and Sam and Anne² remember thear respect as well as thay can."

¹ Henry's widow, it would seem, was occupying herself with some sort of medical practice.

² Anne was the new-born daughter, — born after her father's departure, and destined to die before she should have reached him.

Margaret Winthrop to her Son John.

"To her much respected and very lovinge Sonne Mr. John Winthrope at Mr. Downing's house neare Fleete Condite, these be dd.

"MY GOOD SONNE, — I am glad to heare of thy welfayre, and hope shortly to be refreshed by thy presence, w^{ch} I much desyre. I hope thou wilt be that welcome messenger that will bringe me good tydings from a far cuntrye, w^{ch} wil make our meetinge the more comfortable. I received thy lovinge letter this weeke and thanke thee for it. I feare Mr. Warren will doe as the rest haue done when he hath confered wth his counsell, and yet in my conceyte he is the most likely man of any yet. This daye I received a letter from my brother Tyndall, who remembers his love most kindly to you and your wife. Thinkinge you had bine at home, he sent to know what newes from N: E: and to knowe whether there were anythinge doen conservinge the land. He hath ocasion to be at London this terme. You may if you thinke fit acquaint him with y^{or} proceedings wth Mr. Warren. I thanke the Lord we are all heare in resonable good health. I pray tell my daughter I thanke hir for hir letter, and my boyes inkehorne. I rote to hir the other day by Samuell Goslinge and desyre to be nowe excused haveing other ocasions. I shall haue some other opertunitye are longe. And thus wth my lovinge affections remembred to thy selfe, thy sweet wife, my brother and sister Downinge, all my cosins and frends, I leaue thee and commit thee to God, resting

"Thy very lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROPE.

"APRIL 29.

"Your sisters and brothers remember theare love. My brother and sister Goslinge remember thear salutations. All the rest of y^{or} frends desyre to be remembred."

The negotiations for the sale of the family homestead to "Mr. Warren" were undoubtedly consummated; as

we learn that Groton Manor, about this time, became the seat of the *Warings*. We know not which was the right spelling of the name.¹ The appraisement of the property by the Governor, before his departure, was £5,760; but the price obtained for it seems to have been only £4,200. This was but the beginning of the pecuniary losses and sacrifices to which he cheerfully submitted in the cause of the Massachusetts Colony. But pecuniary losses were the least of his trials.

We come next to an event which must have cast no little gloom over the Groton household, and which was destined to bring fresh sorrow to the heart of our Massachusetts Governor, when the tidings should reach him. We have seen that he said in one of his letters to his son John (given in our last chapter), "I never had letter yet from your brother Forth." He little dreamed the reason, and was still looking to hear from him, or to welcome his arrival in New England. Forth had been educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge; and was already engaged to be married to Ursula Sherman, the daughter of his aunt Fones.² He was an affectionate son, and earnestly intent upon aiding his father in the great work in which he had embarked. The following letter from him to his brother John seems to show that he was the first to obtain positive information of his father's safe arrival in New England:—

¹ Excursions in Suffolk, vol. i. p. 78. In an old family record, dated 1740, the manor is said to have been sold to "Mr. Manwaring, Alderman of London."

² See Life and Letters of John Winthrop, p. 361, vol. i., foot-note.

Forth Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To his loving Brother Mr. John Winthrop at Groton these. Suff.

"MOST LOVING BROTHER, — The great desire I have to heare of all o^r friends wealfare wth you, having never heard from you since I came downe, & the great love where wth I am bound to you for all yo^r true brotherly kindnesses makes me to neglect noe convenient occasion whereby I might understand the one & make in some poore measure apparent the other : We have certaine newes of my fathers safe arivall in N : E : the 13 of June : by a shippe that came to Bristoll from the plantation in new Plimmouth; we doe dayly expect more shippes: Thus being in some hast desiring you to remember my duty to my mother, Uncle & Aunt Gostling, & Uncle & Aunt Downing, when you see them, my harty love to my sister Martha, sister Winthrop & sister Mary, Cosen Jem, Tho. Arkisden, & all the rest of o^r friends with you, Hoping shortly to heare from you, wth my best respects to yo^rselfe, I rest

"Yo^r ever loving Brother

"FORTH WINTHROP.

"My Cosen Ursula is about writing to all her friends wth you; in the meane time she remembers her duty & love."

This letter is without date of place or period, but was probably written from Exeter, about the same time with the following letter from his brother. The one was doubtless an answer to the other.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Forth Winthrop.

"LOVING BROTHER, — I receyved 2 letters from you since you went to Exeter, the one whereof came not many daies since to my hands; we all heere reioyce to heare of your & the rest of o^r friends welfare there. My Uncle Downing, & all his

company, have beene out of towne ever since you went so as I have not knowne how to convey a letter to you, (they are not wth us but theire children came lately from Laver Marney not having their health there but are now well restored). We are all heere in good health, but it is a very sickly tyme, agues very frequent every where about us. My Aunt Gostlin was delivered of a daughter this day seven night in the morning. We have not yet heard any particular newes from New England but dayly expect; if you heare before us let us partake. Thus wth my affectionate love to your selfe & your *alter idem* remembred, whome I should remeber wth a particular letter, if I were certaine of the safe conveyance. I desire you to remeber my duty to my Uncle & Aunt Painter, & am desired to remember my mothers love to them & yourselfe, wth my cozen Martha & my sisters love to you & my cozen Ursula, & their duty to my Uncle & Aunt, I rest

"Your loving brother,

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"GROTON. Aug: 25 1630.

"Your last letter was not dated.

"I have not yet bargained wth any about your land. My cozen Forth¹ would have it but I have not lately heard from him; in your next let us have directions from you whether & how to proceed."

One more little glimpse of Forth is found in the following letter to his sister Mary, on hearing of the sad death of Henry in New England:—

Forth Winthrop to Mary Winthrop.

"LOVING SISTER,—You draw in the same yoke wth us, you labour under the same burthen, & are afflicted wth the same Crosse. Be it therefore yo^r wisdom (as I know it is) to

¹ One of the nephews of the Governor's first wife.

let yo^r demeanour soe clearly shine through this cloudy tempest, as o^r distressed sister may read comfort in yo^r eyes & consolation in yo^r speeches : We are all well here (blessed be God,) though very sorrowfull. My Cozen Ursula remembers her affectionate love to you. I hope shortly to see you ; in the meane time, wth my true love to you, I rest

"Yo^r truely loving brother

"FORTH WINTHROP.

"Exon. Septem 25 1630.

"Remember my love to my sister Mary, Cozen Anne, the mayds &c. Remember me to all at my Uncle Gostlings & to S^r Arkisden."¹

Forth Winthrop may have been preparing himself for the ministry, in conformity with the wish expressed by his father while he was still at Cambridge ; and he was evidently contemplating an early marriage, with a view to coming over to New England. But the following touching letter from his mother to her son John completes the story of his brief career, and furnishes an authentic and beautiful tribute to his character :—

Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To my very loving sonne Mr. John Winthrop at Mr. Downings house in Fleete Streete neere the Conduit at the signe of the Bishop these deliver in London.

"LOVINGE SONNE, — I am sory I can not right to thee so cherefully as I should if God had not visited us with this stroke of my sonnes death. The thoughts of him doe so take up my minde, that I am not fit for other imployment. But it is the

¹ Thomas Archisden had been Forth's chum at Cambridge. He had now probably become a *curate* ; and thus, after the fashion of the day, was styled *Sir*.

Lord that hath done it, & we must submit to his will. I did not expect the ende of his dayse had bine so neere; if I had I would have sent for you, to have taken your last leave of him. I thanke the Lord he dyed very comfortablely, and was all the time of his sicknes very well affected, and did use many good speaches to myselfe and others, that gave us assurance that he was the child of God, and that God had fitted him for himselfe. He told me the onely cause that he did desyre life for was that he mite gloryfy God, and spend those gifts which God had given him to better use then formerly he had done; with many promyses that if God did spare his life he would never folloe the vanytyes of this world. The day before he dyed he sayd that Sathan was busy with him to laye some sines to his charge; but the Lord gave him powre against him, so as he told me not many owres before his death, that his fayth was steadfast in God through Jesus Christ for his salvation.

"I will not saye any more of him at this tyme; the Lord give us grace to make good use of this affliction. I received thy loving letter by my brother Gostlinge and the things you sent this weeke, and I have nothinge but my thanks to returne to thee. I blesse God for the good nuse from N: E:. I send up Mr. Nuttalls bond by this bearer. My mother Clopton would entreate you that if you sell y^{or} brothers land hir cosin Hubbart may helpe you with a chapman for it, or if you let it he desyres to hire some part of it. I thinke longe to heare of my sister Downings recovery. I pray remember my love to them both, and all my cosins, and thus with my love and blessinge to thy selfe, desyringe the Lord to keepe thee, I rest

"Your assured lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROPE.

"This sad time hath made me I have not spoke with M^r Le, but I doe not forgette it, but will at convenient time know what he will doe."

This letter has no date; but as the parish register at Groton records the burial of Forth on the 23d of No-

vember, 1630, there is little room for doubt as to the month, or even week, in which it was written. Poor Ursula! — we know not what were her future fortunes. We get but one token more of her after her sad bereavement; but that one is so charming, that it must not be lost to our illustrations of the family circle to which she was now doubly allied, — one link on earth, and one in heaven. It was written more than six months after her lover's death; but there is a mingled tenderness and frankness about it, which may almost justify the exclamation of Mr. Savage in the note which he appends to it: "If our language can exhibit any letter of a female hand, earlier in date than this, and more likely to be read with delight a thousand years after, it is not within my recollection."¹

Ursula Sherman to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To my worthy and very loving Brother, Mr. John Winthrop, at Groton in Suffolk.

"MY WORTHY AND BELOVED BROTHER, — I am told by my mother, — and she showed me a letter, which you have very kindly written to my father, — that you will repay certain money, that was taken up in London, by reason of my troubles occasioned by God's providence in that my so much desired match with your dearest brother, which the Lord otherwise ordered, and brought his estate into your hands. The Lord prosper it unto you and yours. I shall truly pray for you, and desire your prayers may be before the Lord for me, who am left to pass through the miseries of a troublesome pilgrimage. I thank you for the continuance of your love. My father and mother are very kind unto me, and will not be wanting, I know, in their love. But, though the Lord should greatly increase

¹ Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., vol. i. p. 460, note.

your estate by the loss of my dearest friend, and the lessening of my poor portion, and laying other hindrances upon me, yet shall I never think my love ill settled upon one, that loved me so dearly, though he could leave me nothing but his prayers for me and the interest I have in your love, whose kindness is so clearly manifested, like the kindness of Ruth, to the living and to the dead. The £30 you writ of was taken up of my uncle Talley; besides which, the £10 my father's man brought with him, and the £5 of Mr. Brinscely, and £8 from my uncle Downing, goeth out of that sum of £50 in his hands, which my father Paynter was willing mother should add to my portion, which was but £250 before, for your brother. And now that is all spent, excepting very little. But in all this I do submit myself patiently to the will of God, and take it as the least part of that great affliction. I do not mention any of this to press you, good brother; neither are you bound, but as the consideration of God's dealing, both with you and your brother and me, shall move you. Your promises were your kindness. I could not deserve them, forlorn and desolate as I was. Yet they were comfortable in that case, and I still thank you, and pray the Lord to reward you.

"The mare I confess I should desire to get down, if it might stand with your good liking. I hope to ride to Sutton upon her shortly. Mr. Brinscely knows how to send her down by the carrier. I am ashamed to put all these things in a letter, which your well known love and ready kindness would prevent me in, if I could but see you, nay, hath prevented. My father and mother desire to see you all, if it be possible, though they have little hope, by reason of my father's employments. Pray remember my unfeigned love to my sister your wife, and my sister Elizabeth Winthrop. Pray certify her, that I received her loving letter, and excuse me to her, that I have not now written to her. I should be very thankful, if you would be pleased to let me hear from you, the messenger of your welfare being always welcome, and much rejoicing the heart of me.

"Your ever-loving sister,

"URSULA SHERMAN.

"My mother remembereth her love to yourself and your wife, and thanks you both for your tokens you sent her by me. She desires to be excused for not writing you at this time.

"From EXETER, June 18, 1631."

And thus we have completed the chronicles of birth, death, and marriage, which have so changed the condition of the Groton household since the Governor left it. It only remains to record the final removal of that household itself from scenes so saddened by separations and bereavements. Margaret Winthrop, we may be sure, was nothing loath to rejoin her husband after so long an absence, and after so many trying experiences for them both; and the three letters which follow give us a delightful impression of her courage and constancy, in view of a voyage which had so many terrors for others of her sex.

Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"MY DEAR SON, — Blessed be our good God, who hath not failed us, but hath given us cause of most unspeakable joy, for the good news, which we have heard out of New England. Mr. Wilson had been with me before thy letters came to my hands, but brought me no letter. He speaks very well of things there, so as my heart and thoughts are there already. I want but means to carry my body after them. I am now fully persuaded, that it is the place wherein God will have us to settle in; and I beseech him to fit us for it, that we may be instruments of his glory there. This news came very seasonably to me, being possessed with much grief for thee, hearing how things went concerning thy wife's jointure. But now I have cast off that, and hope God will turn all to the best. If thou canst but send me over when Mr. Wilson goeth back, I shall be very, very glad of his company. If thy manifold employments will not suffer

thee to go with me, I shall be very sorry for it; for I would be glad to carry all my company with me. But I will not say any more of this till I hear from thee, how things may be done. I pray consider of it, and give me the best counsel you can. Mr. Wilson is now in London, and promised me to come and see you. He cannot yet persuade his wife to go, for all he hath taken this pains to come and fetch her. I marvel what mettle she is made of. Sure she will yield at last, or else we shall want him exceedingly in New England. I desire to hear what news my brother Downing hath; for my husband writ but little to me, thinking we had been on our voyage. And thus, with my love to thyself, my daughter, and all the rest of my good friends, I desire the Lord to bless and keep you, and rest

"Your loving Mother, "MARGARET WINTHROP.

"I received the things you sent down by the carrier this week, and thank my daughter for my band. I like it well. I must, of necessity, make me a gown to wear every day, and would have one bought me of some good strong black stuff, and Mr. Smith to make it of the civilest fashion now in use. If my sister Downing would please to give him some directions about it, he would make it the better."

Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To hir lovinge and much respected Sonne Mr. John Winthrop at Mr. Downings in Flete Strete neare Flete Condite these.

"MY DEARE SONNE, — Since it hath pleased God to make a waye for me, and to give me incoragement for my voyage, and upholde my hart that it faynts not, I doe resolve by his assistance to cast myselfe upon him, and to goe for N: E: as spedyly as I can with any convenience. Thearfore, my good sonne, let me intreate thee to take order for our goeing as soon as thou canst, for winter wil come on apace. Yet I doe not knowe howe wee can goe weel before harvest, by resone of our provisions of corne. I did heare from my brother Tyndall, whose

counsell is for to staye till the springe, but I hope to breake through that, & geete his good will. I did speake with Mr. Wilson, who was very desyrus to knowe when we went, but then I could not tell howe things would falle out at London, and could not resolve him. If he goe it must be without his wife's consent, for she is more averce than ever she was. If he goe not it will disharten many that would be wiling to goe. I have bin constrainned to send to the tenants for rent, wantinge monye, but have received but a little yet. This weeke they promise to paye. They complayne of the hardnesse of the times, and would be glad to be forborne, but I tell them that my necessityes requires it, so I hope to gette in some. I thanke God my daughter came home safe, & is very welcome. I should have bine very glad to see thy selfe, but I knowe that thou art full of businesse. I heare my sister Downinge will come downe; I pray tell hir from me she shalbe very welcome, w^{ch} wilbe hir best intertainement; so shall Mrs. Downinge, if she pleas to bringe hir. And thus with my best affections to thyselfe, brother and sister D. I commit you to God.

"Your lovinge mother

"MARGARET WINTHROP."

Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To hir very lovinge Sonne M^r John Winthrope at Mr. Downings house neare fleet Condite these, Londone.

"LOVINGE SONNE, — I can saye little of any businesse, havinge not hard how you and the ffeeffees will agree with Mr. Warren. I beinge not able myselfe to know what wilbe the best corce to take for my voyage, doe refer myselfe to you and the rest of my frends, to be gyded by your good counseles. My will is readdy, to goe as sone as may be with any conveniency. I am glad that thy selfe and the rest of my companye are willinge to accompanye me; we shall al ioyne together I hope, and be of one minde, to suffer what God hath layed out for us, and to reioyce together. I reioyce much to heare that Mr. Cot-

tington beares such good affections to my daughter;¹ I trust theare wil be a further prosedinge. I have heard him very well reported of, to be a religious man, and one of good meanes. Mr. Wilson had some speech with me aboute it, and did very much desyre to knowe hir vertues, I gave hir the best commendations that I could. I shall dayly expect his cominge, he shal be very welcome. My brother Tyndall was with me the last weeke, and tolde me he would be in Londone on tuesday, and so I did not send to him, knowing he would be gone. I send up your horse this weeke, and thus with my love to my brother and sister Downinge, your selfe and wife all the rest of my friends, I commite you to God and rest

"Your lovinge Mother

"MARGARET WINTHROP.

"I pray tell my daughter I thanke hir for hir letter and would have written to hir but that I hope to see hir shortly at home.

"As soone as I had ritten these Mr. Cottington came to see us but would not stay all night. He hath not yet made his minde knowne to my daughter, but is gone to Sudbury to Mr. Willson. I doe verily beleeeve it wilbe a mach, and that she shalbe very happy in a good Husband. Commend me to my brother Gostlinge."

It must have been about the middle of August, 1631, when Margaret Winthrop, with her infant daughter, under the charge of her good son John, and accompanied by all the others of her children who had remained with her in England, except poor Forth, and Deane² who was left behind at school, embarked in the *Lion* for New Eng-

¹ This was the widow of Henry Winthrop, who did not marry Mr. Coddington after all; but soon afterwards became the wife of Robert Feake, Esq., who was for many years the representative of Watertown in the Massachusetts Court of Deputies, and who gave the name to Mount Feake, in Waltham. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, vol. i. p. 83, and note.

² He remained in England till 1635.

land. The voyage was as long as that of the *Arbella* the year before, and was not without the saddest experiences for a mother's heart. Her little daughter died on the passage; and the faith and fortitude of Margaret must have been sorely exercised when she saw the tender form of her infant child committed to the deep. Happily, she was not without the consolations which her pious fellow-passenger, the admirable John Eliot,¹ was so well calculated to afford. But the Governor shall tell the story in his own words, as we find them in his *Journal*; and, though some shade of sorrow must have been mingled with the sunshine, we can easily conceive the rapture with which he wrote them:—

“November 2. The ship *Lyon*, William Peirce master, arrived at Natascot. There came in her the governour's wife, his eldest son, and his wife, and others of his children, and Mr. Eliot, a minister, and other families, being in all about sixty persons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea, and lost none of their company but two children, whereof one was the governour's daughter Ann, about one year and a half old, who died about a week after they came to sea.”

Winthrop's joy at the safe arrival in New England of his wife and children seems not to have been unshared by the colonists. The sympathies of the whole people appear to have been excited by the event, and a general rejoicing to have pervaded the plantation. An unfavorable wind prevented the ship from coming up fairly to the shore until the 4th of November; and then we find the following entry in the *Journal*:—

¹ The ever-honored Apostle to the Indians.

"4. The governour, his wife and children, went on shore, with Mr. Peirce, in his ship's boat. The ship gave them six or seven pieces. At their landing, the captains, with their companies in arms, entertained them with a guard, and divers vollies of shot, and three drakes ; and divers of the assistants and most of the people, of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England. It was a great marvel, that so much people and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning."

Nor were these rejoicings allowed to pass over without a religious acknowledgment of the event which had occasioned them. The very next line of the Governor's Journal is as follows : —

"11. We kept a day of thanksgiving at Boston."

The good news seems also to have awakened the sympathies of the neighboring Pilgrim Colony ; and the excellent Governor of Plymouth, William Bradford, took occasion, the following week, to pay a visit of congratulation to "his much-honored and beloved friend," the Governor of Massachusetts. And thus with grateful hearts to God, and amid the rejoicings of neighbors and friends, Winthrop and his family, once more re-united, are at length established in their humble New-England home.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S CONTROVERSY WITH DEPUTY-GOVERNOR
THOMAS DUDLEY.

WE turn from a delightful picture of domestic re-union and harmony to one of personal rivalry and political contention. It was not the good fortune of Governor Winthrop to escape from collisions and controversies, personal and political, during his administration of the affairs of the infant Commonwealth. He had no constitution to guide him save the general provisions of the Royal Charter. Nor were there any laws, save such as were made by the General Court, from time to time, to meet the immediate exigencies of the Colony. Under these circumstances, much was necessarily left to the discretion of the Chief Magistrate; and there could hardly fail to be differences of opinion in regard to the manner in which this discretion was exercised. There were questions, too, frequently arising, in regard to the settling and building up of particular towns, and the favoring of particular localities, which naturally involved more or less of private interest and personal feeling. Nor would it be unreasonable to imagine that something of individual ambition and rivalry may have entered into the controversies of that day, as of all other days since the flood.

As early as April, 1632, we find a record of the commencement of a difference between Winthrop and the

Deputy-Governor, Thomas Dudley, which was of no short duration, and some account of which may serve to throw light at once on the history of the times and on the character and temper of the parties. In his youth, Dudley is said to have been a page to the Earl of Northampton, and afterwards to have commanded a company under Henry IV. of France at the siege of Amiens. More recently, he had been steward to the Earl of Lincoln, and had been highly successful in extricating the earl's estates from the load of debt with which he had found them encumbered.¹ He was a man, as Winthrop himself tells us, "of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country." But he had a strong will; was somewhat stern and rigid in disposition; and probably had less of the *suaviter in modo* than of the *fortiter in re*. As he was thirteen or fourteen years older than Winthrop, it is not unnatural or illiberal to suppose that he may have been somewhat impatient at being so long subordinate to him in official position. It is true, that almost all that we know about this particular controversy is derived from Winthrop's own Journal,² which must, of course, be subject to all the allowances of an *ex-parte* statement. But nobody, who reads that statement with an unprejudiced mind, can fail to acknowledge that Dudley's side of the case has had full justice done to it, and that Winthrop, in aiming at impartiality, frequently leans against himself. Some pas-

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, chapter v., book ii. "The Sutton-Dudleys of England, and the Dudleys of Massachusetts in New England," by George Adlard, pp. 24-38.

² Hubbard, in his *History of New England*, adds no new facts or arguments upon this subject, and undoubtedly derived all he knew about it from Winthrop's manuscript Journal, with which he is known to have been familiar.

sages of it seem written, indeed, rather in a spirit of confession than of justification, and leave no room and no excuse for the idea that he has either extenuated any thing on his own side, or set down aught in malice against his opponent. It may be well to give the whole account continuously, so that its true character may not be impaired by the interpolations of other matter, and that the agreeable termination of this protracted and untoward strife among brethren may be seen in immediate connection with its rise and progress. It will furnish also a good illustration of the style and temper of Winthrop's New-England Annals.

"April 3. At a court at Boston, the deputy, Mr. Dudley, went away before the court was ended, and then the secretary delivered the governour a letter from him, directed to the governour and assistants, wherein he declared a resignation of his deputyship and place of assistant; but it was not allowed.

"At this court an act was made expressing the governour's power, etc., and the office of the secretary and treasurer, etc.

"May 1. The governour and assistants met at Boston to consider of the deputy his deserting his place. The points discussed were two. The 1st, upon what grounds he did it: 2d, whether it were good or void. For the 1st, his main reason was for public peace; because he must needs discharge his conscience in speaking freely; and he saw that bred disturbance, etc. For the 2d, it was maintained by all, that he could not leave his place, except by the same power which put him in; yet he would not be put from his contrary opinion, nor would be persuaded to continue till the general court, which was to be the 9th of this month.

"Another question fell out with him, about some bargains he had made with some poor men, members of the same congregation, to whom he had sold seven bushels and an half of corn to receive ten for it after harvest, which the governour and some

others held to be oppressing usury, and within compass of the statute ; but he persisted to maintain it to be lawful, and there arose hot words about it, he telling the governour, that, if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there ; and that he never knew any man of understanding of other opinion ; and that the governour thought otherwise of it, it was his weakness. The governour took notice of these speeches, and bare them with more patience than he had done, upon a like occasion, at another time. Upon this there arose another question, about his house. The governour having formerly told him, that he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscoting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example, etc., his answer now was, that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot."

These and other speeches, the Governor tells us, passed before dinner. What passed after dinner had no relation to Dudley ; but, a week afterwards, the controversy is renewed again, as follows :—

"May 8. A general court at Boston. Whereas it was (at our first coming) agreed, that the freemen should choose the assistants, and they the governour, the whole court agreed now, that the governour and assistants should all be new chosen every year by the general court, (the governour to be always chosen out of the assistants ;) and accordingly the old governour, John Winthrop, was chosen ; accordingly all the rest as before, and Mr. Humfrey and Mr. Coddington also, because they were daily expected.

"The deputy governour, Thomas Dudley, Esq., having submitted the validity of his resignation to the vote of the court, it was adjudged a nullity, and he accepted of his place again, and the governour and he being reconciled the day before, all things

were carried very lovingly amongst all, etc., and the people carried themselves with much silence and modesty."

And now a brief interval elapses, when we find the quarrel breaking out afresh:—

"August 3. The deputy, Mr. Thomas Dudley, being still discontented with the governour, partly for that the governour had removed the frame of his house, which he had set up at Newtown, and partly for that he took too much authority upon him, (as he conceived,) renewed his complaints to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Welde, who acquainting the governour therewith, a meeting was agreed upon at Charlestown, where were present the governour and deputy, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Welde, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham. The conference being begun with calling upon the Lord, the deputy began,—that howsoever he had some particular grievances, etc.; yet, seeing he was advised by those present, and divers of the assistants, to be silent in them, he would let them pass, and so come first to complain of the breach of promise, both in the governour and others, in not building at Newtown. The governour answered, that he had performed the words of the promise; for he had a house up, and seven or eight servants abiding in it, by the day appointed: and for the removing of his house, he alleged, that, seeing that the rest of the assistants went not about to build, and that his neighbours of Boston had been discouraged from removing thither by Mr. Deputy himself, and thereupon had (under all their hands) petitioned him, that (according to the promise he made to them when they first sate down with him at Boston, viz., that he would not remove, except they went with him) he would not leave them;—this was the occasion that he removed his house. Upon these and other speeches to this purpose, the ministers went apart for one hour; then returning, they delivered their opinions, that the governour was in fault for removing of his house so suddenly, without conferring with the deputy and the rest of the assistants; but if the

deputy were the occasion of discouraging Boston men from removing, it would excuse the governour a *tanto*, but not a *toto*. The governour, professing himself willing to submit his own opinion to the judgment of so many wise and godly friends, acknowledged himself faulty.

"After dinner, the deputy proceeded in his complaint, yet with this protestation, that what he should charge the governour with, was in love, and out of his care of the public, and that the things which he should produce were but for his own satisfaction, and not by way of accusation. Then demanded he of him the ground and limits of his authority, whether by the patent or otherwise. The governour answered, that he was willing to stand to that which he propounded, and would challenge no greater authority than he might by the patent. The deputy replied, that then he had no more authority than every assistant, (except power to call courts, and precedency, for honor and order). The governour answered, he had more; for the patent, making him a governour, gave him whatsoever power belonged to a governour by common law or the statutes, and desired him to show wherein he had exceeded, etc.; and speaking this somewhat apprehensively, the deputy began to be in passion, and told the governour, that if he were so round, he would be round too. The governour bad him be round, if he would. So the deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the governour grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness; but, by mediation of the mediators, they were soon pacified. Then the deputy proceeded to particulars, as followeth:

"1st. By what authority the governour removed the ordnance and erected a fort at Boston. — The governour answered, that the ordnance lying upon the beach in danger of spoiling, and having often complained of it in the court, and nothing done, with the help of divers of the assistants, they were mounted upon their carriages, and removed where they might be of some use: and for the fort, it had been agreed, above a year before, that it should be erected there: and all this was done without any penny charge to the public.

"2d. By what authority he lent twenty-eight pounds of powder to those of Plimouth. — Governour answered, it was of his own powder, and upon their urgent distress, their own powder proving naught, when they were to send to the rescue of their men at Sowamsett.

"3d. By what authority he had licensed Edward Johnson to sit down at Merrimack. — Governour answered, that he had licensed him only to go forth on trading, (as he had done divers others,) as belonging to his place.

"4th. By what authority he had given them of Watertown leave to erect a wear upon Charles River, and had disposed of lands to divers, etc. — Governour answered, the people of Watertown, falling very short of corn the last year, for want of fish, did complain, etc., and desired leave to erect a wear; and upon this the governour told them, that he could not give them leave, but they must seek it of the court; but because it would be long before the courts began again, and, if they deferred till then, the season would be lost, he wished them to do it, and there was no doubt but, being for so general a good, the court would allow of it; and, for his part, he would employ all his power in the court, so as he should sink under it, if it were not allowed; and besides, those of Roxbury had erected a wear without any license from the court. And for lands, he had disposed of none, otherwise than the deputy and other of the assistants had done, — he had only given his consent, but referred them to the court, etc. But the deputy had taken more upon him, in that, without order of court, he had empaled, at Newtown, above one thousand acres, and had assigned lands to some there.

"5th. By what authority he had given license to Ratcliff and Grey (being banished men) to stay within our limits. — Governour answered, he did it by that authority, which was granted him in court, viz., that, upon any sentence in criminal causes, the governour might, upon cause, stay the execution till the next court. Now the cause was, that, being in the winter, they must otherwise have perished.

"6th. Why the fines were not levied. — Governour answered,

it belonged to the secretary and not to him : he never refused to sign any that were brought to him ; nay, he had called upon the secretary for it ; yet he confessed, that it was his judgment, that it were not fit, in the infancy of a commonwealth, to be too strict in levying fines, though severe in other punishments.

" 7th. That when a cause had been voted by the rest of the court, the governour would bring new reasons, and move them to alter the sentence : — which the governour justified, and all approved.

" The deputy having made an end, the governour desired the mediators to consider, whether he had exceeded his authority or not, and how little cause the deputy had to charge him with it ; for if he had made some slips, in two or three years' government, he ought rather to have covered them, seeing he could not be charged that he had taken advantage of his authority to oppress or wrong any man, or to benefit himself ; but, for want of a public stock, had disbursed all common charges out of his own estate ; whereas the deputy would never lay out one penny, etc. ; and, besides, he could shew that under his hand, that would convince him of a greater exceeding his authority, than all that the deputy could charge him with, viz., that whereas Binks and Johnson were bound in open court to appear at next court to account to, etc., he had, out of court, discharged them of their appearance. The deputy answered, that the party, to whom they were to account, came to him and confessed that he was satisfied, and that the parties were to go to Virginia ; so he thought he might discharge them.

" Though the governour might justly have refused to answer these seven articles, wherewith the deputy had charged him, both for that he had no knowledge of them before, (the meeting being only for the deputy his personal grievances,) and also for that the governour was not to give account of his actions to any but to the court ; yet, out of his desire of the public peace, and to clear his reputation with those to whom the deputy had accused him, he was willing to give him satisfaction, to the end, that he might free him of such jealousy as he had conceived,

that the governour intended to make himself popular, that he might gain absolute power, and bring all the assistants under his subjection ; which was very improbable, seeing the governour had propounded in court to have an order established for limiting the governour's authority, and had himself drawn articles for that end, which had been approved and established by the whole court ; neither could he justly be charged to have transgressed any of them. So the meeting breaking up, without any other conclusion but the commending the success of it by prayer to the Lord, the governour brought the deputy onward of his way, and every man went to his own home.

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"The ministers afterward, for an end of the difference between the governour and deputy, ordered, that the governour should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute somewhat towards his maintenance for a time ; or, if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the deputy, toward his charges in building there, twenty pounds. The governour accepted this order, and promised to perform it in one of the kinds. But the deputy, having received one part of the order, returned the same to the governour, with this reason to Mr. Wilson, that he was so well persuaded of the governour's love to him, and did prize it so much, as, if they had given him one hundred pounds instead of twenty pounds, he would not have taken it.

"Notwithstanding the heat of contention, which had been between the governour and deputy, yet they usually met about their affairs, and that without any appearance of any breach or discontent ; and ever after kept peace and good correspondency together, in love and friendship."

This latter clause appears evidently to have been inserted at a later period ; and the following entry, bearing date November, 1633, proves it to have been a little premature where it stands : —

U of M

"Some differences fell out still, now and then, between the governour and the deputy, which yet were soon healed. It had been ordered in court, that all hands should help to the finishing of the fort at Boston, and all the towns in the bay had gone once over, and most the second time; but those of Newtown being warned, the deputy would not suffer them to come, neither did acquaint the governour with the cause, which was, for that Salem and Sagus had not brought in money for their parts. The governour, hearing of it, wrote friendly to him, showing him that the intent of the court was, that the work should be done by those in the bay, and that, after, the others should pay a proportionable sum for the house, etc., which must be done by money; and therefore desired him that he would send in his neighbours. Upon this, Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker came to the governour to treat with him about it, and brought a letter from the deputy full of bitterness and resolution not to send till Salem, etc. The governour told them it should rest till the court, and withal gave the letter to Mr. Hooker with this speech: I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me. And soon after he wrote to the deputy (who had before desired to buy a fat hog or two of him, being somewhat short of provisions) to desire him to send for one, (which he would have sent him, if he had known when his occasion had been to have made use of it,) and to accept it as a testimony of his good will; and, lest he should make any scruple of it, he made Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker (who both sojourned in his house) partakers with him. Upon this the deputy returned this answer: "Your overcoming yourself hath overcome me. Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, and myself, do most kindly accept your good will; but we desire, without offence, to refuse your offer, and that I may only trade with you for two hogs;" and so very lovingly concluded. — The court being two days after, ordered, that Newtown should do their work as others had done, and then Salem, etc., should pay for three days at eighteen pence a man."

W. B. U.

There could be no fitter conclusion for this long story than the entry in the Journal on the 24th of April, 1638:—

“The governour and deputy went to Concord to view some land for farms, and, going down the river about four miles, they made choice of a place for one thousand acres for each of them. They offered each other the first choice, but because the deputy’s was first granted, and himself had store of land already, the governour yielded him the choice. So, at the place where the deputy’s land was to begin, there were two great stones, which they called the Two Brothers, in remembrance that they were brothers by their children’s marriage,¹ and did so brotherly agree, and for that a little creek near those stones was to part their lands. At the court in the 4th month after, two hundred acres were added to the governour’s part.”

Certainly it was a felicitous coincidence that *Concord* should have been the scene of this charming exhibition of mutual concession and fraternal love. Since the quarrel of Brutus and Cassius, which Shakspeare has rendered so memorable in his immortal dialogue, it would be difficult to find one more vividly described or more happily ended. Who would undertake to re-open the record in order to decide who was right and who was wrong in such a disagreement? Let it stand, without

¹ We have already mentioned (p. 33) the marriage of Winthrop’s daughter Mary to Rev. Samuel Dudley, the eldest son of Thomas. The families were destined to be again connected by the marriage (1706) of John Winthrop, F.R.S., great-grandson of the subject of our Memoir, to Ann Dudley, grand-daughter of Thomas Dudley, and daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley. I may add, that a portrait, purporting to be that of Gov. Thomas Dudley, is now hanging side by side with that of Gov. Winthrop, under my own roof. It came from the old Winthrop mansion in New London. The following doggerel was inscribed on the back of it:—

“Sir Thomas Dudley’s a trusty old stud,
A bargain’s a bargain, and must be made good.”

mutilation and without commentary, as a beautiful illustration of the manner in which two of the Fathers of New England conducted the controversies which sometimes sprung up among them. There were no challenges to personal combat. "They were angry, but sinned not." There was crimination and recrimination; but, after all, argument was their only weapon, and reason was their final umpire. In the height of their contentions, we often find "the soft answer turning away wrath;" and we constantly witness on both sides a spirit of mutual kindness and conciliation, which was worthy of their Christian professions. The narrative abounds in striking traits of character and in lively touches of description. Few more delightful incidents can be found in history than Winthrop's returning the insulting letter of Dudley with the simple remark: "I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me." Nor could a better companion-piece be easily produced for such a picture of self-command and forbearance, than the reply of Dudley to Winthrop's offering of a token of his good-will: "Your overcoming yourself hath overcome me." The contentious statesmen of modern times may well take an example from this early chapter of New-England history, and this original record of New-England controversy.

CHAPTER VII.

WINTHROP'S VISIT TO PLYMOUTH AND OTHER PLACES, WITH SOME AMUSING PASSAGES FROM HIS JOURNAL.

JOHN WINTHROP, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, was again chosen Governor of Massachusetts, on the eighth day of May, 1632. A few months previous to this election, we find him recording a little expedition into the neighboring country, and furnishing a pleasant account of the origin of some of the names which are still attached to well-known localities in the vicinity of Boston. The narrative is not without historical interest. It is given here, however, together with other descriptions of similar occurrences, as supplying incidents of family history, and illustrations of personal character, in the most authentic and agreeable shape.

Thus, under date of January 27, we have the following account:—

“The governour, and some company with him, went up by Charles River about eight miles above Watertown, and named the first brook, on the north side of the river, (being a fair stream, and coming from a pond a mile from the river,) Beaver Brook, because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams across the brook. Thence they went to a great rock, upon which stood a high stone, cleft in sunder, that four men might go through, which they called Adam's Chair, because the youngest of their company was

Adam Winthrop. Thence they came to another brook, greater than the former, which they called Masters' Brook, because the eldest of their party was one John Masters. Thence they came to another high pointed rock, having a fair ascent on the west side, which they called Mount Feake, from one Robert Feake, who had married the governour's daughter-in-law.¹ On the west side of Mount Feake, they went up a very high rock, from whence they might see all over Neipnett, and a very high hill due west, about forty miles off, and to the N. W. the high hills by Merrimack, above sixty miles off."

And here is another account of a similar journey which followed soon afterwards:—

"February 7.] The governour, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Eliot, and others, went over Mistick River at Medford, and going N. and by E. among the rocks about two or three miles, they came to a very great pond, having in the midst an island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and beech; and the pond had divers small rocks, standing up here and there in it, which they therefore called Spot Pond. They went all about it upon the ice. From thence (towards the N. W. about half a mile,) they came to the top of a very high rock, beneath which, (towards the N.) lies a goodly plain, part open land, and part woody, from whence there is a fair prospect, but it being then close and rainy, they could see but a small distance. This place they called Cheese Rock, because, when they went to eat somewhat, they had only cheese, (the governour's man forgetting, for haste, to put up some bread)."

On the twenty-fifth day of September, 1632, Winthrop made a still longer journey, and one, which, in those days, must have been regarded as no light undertaking. He paid a visit to the old Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth;

¹ The widow of Henry Winthrop.

where, it will be seen, that, in addition to other manifestations of welcome and of confidence, he was called on to discuss a grave question of theology. The story is too interesting to be abridged, and we give it in his own words:—

"25.] The governour, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and the two captains, etc., went aboard the *Lyon*, and from thence Mr. Pierce carried them in his shallop to Wessaguscus. The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ship, and the governour and his company went on foot to Plimouth, and came thither within the evening. The governour of Plimouth, Mr. William Bradford, (a very discreet and grave man,) with Mr. Brewster, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the governour's house, where they were very kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and, in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after the governour of Plimouth spake to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governour of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the governour and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned."

What a group of New-England Worthies is presented to us in this passage! Bradford and Brewster, Roger Williams, Wilson, and Winthrop, all gathered at Plymouth Rock, partaking of the holy Communion together, engaging in religious discussion, and uniting

in a contribution for the necessities of the poor! What a subject for American art, in the blended cause of piety and patriotism! Unhappily, only two of the characters are represented at this day by authentic portraits. There is no pretence of a likeness of Bradford or Brewster, and nothing more than a pretence of a likeness of Roger Williams.¹ But let us finish the narrative:—

“31, being Wednesday.] About five in the morning the governour and his company came out of Plimouth; the governour of Plimouth, with the pastor and elder, etc., accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The Lieut. Holmes, with two others, and the governour’s mare, came along with them to the great swamp, about ten miles. When they came to the great river, they were carried over by one Luddam, their guide, (as they had been when they came, the stream being very strong, and up to the crotch;) so the governour called that passage Luddam’s Ford. Thence they came to a place called Hue’s Cross. The governour, being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say, that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue’s Folly. So they came, that evening, to Wessaguscus, where they were bountifully entertained, as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, etc., and the next day came safe to Boston.”

A Governor of Massachusetts crossing “the great river”² on the back of his guide furnishes a graphic

¹ My friend, Charles Deane, Esq., has sufficiently exposed the only portrait which has ever claimed to be that of Roger Williams, and which, strangely enough, seems to have originated in an old print of Benjamin Franklin!—See “Cambridge Chronicle” of 4th April, 1850. Even Wilson’s portrait has been the subject of some doubts. Meantime there is an unquestioned likeness of Edward Winslow, who was probably one of the group.

² Now known as North River.

picture of the primitive mode of travelling in New England, while the summary manner in which Winthrop changed the name of one of the landmarks which he encountered is characteristic of the intensity of his Protestantism. The most cordial relations always existed between Winthrop and the Plymouth colonists. Governor Bradford, as we have seen, had paid a visit to Massachusetts in 1631, about a fortnight after the arrival of Winthrop's wife and family; and Governor Winthrop, as we have just read in his reply to the accusations of Dudley, had supplied the pilgrims with powder, at his own private cost, at a moment of their extreme necessity. The two colonies were one in spirit, as they were one in destiny; and these mutual interchanges of friendly offices, at this early day, are a pleasant prelude to the act of Union, which, a little more than half a century afterwards, made them members incorporate of the same noble Commonwealth. The Journal of the next New-Year's Day contains the following brief but most significant and suggestive entry in relation to a change of administration in the Pilgrim Colony:—

"January 1.] Mr. Edward Winslow chosen governour of Plimouth, Mr. Bradford having been governour about ten years, and now by importunity gat off."

It was doubtless the importunity of Governor Bradford to get off, and perhaps an indisposition of Edward Winslow to serve, which led the people of Plymouth to enact, as a part of the formal legislation of this year, "that whoever refuses the office of Governor shall pay £20, unless he was chose two years going."

What a blessed reformation it would betoken, if such a provision could again be rendered necessary in any part of our country! But legislative enactments, in order to prevent the office of Governor from going a-begging, never reached beyond the little Colony at Plymouth; and we shall see abundant reason for thinking, as we proceed with the career of Governor Winthrop, that there was no necessity for them in the Colony over which he had thus far presided.

Three or four more brief extracts from his Journal, which afford amusing and interesting glimpses of the times in which it was written, will serve to conclude this chapter, and to carry us forward for another year or two. They will be given without comment.

The first bears date July 5, 1632, and is as follows:—

“At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation: That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom. Upon the same occasion, he told the governour, that, before he was resolved to come into this country, he dreamed he was here, and that he saw a church arise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly Church.”

The second is dated Feb. 26, 1633:—

“Two little girls of the governour’s family¹ were sitting

¹ I am at a loss to know who these “little girls of the Governor’s family” were. His own daughters (except Mary, who was now old enough to be married) had all died in infancy. The Downing children, some of whom afterwards resided with him, had not yet come over from England.

under a great heap of logs, plucking of birds, and the wind driving the feathers into the house, the governour's wife caused them to remove away. They were no sooner gone, but the whole heap of logs fell down in the place, and had crushed them to death, if the Lord, in his special providence, had not delivered them."

The third is dated March 7, 1633 : —

"At the lecture at Boston a question was propounded about veils. Mr. Cotton concluded, that where (by the custom of the place) they were not a sign of the women's subjection, they were not commanded by the apostle. Mr. Endecott opposed, and did maintain it by the general arguments brought by the apostle. After some debate, the governour, perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so it brake off."

The fourth is of the same date with the foregoing, and the story which it contains is confidently applied by Mr. Savage to the Governor's own family : —

"Among other testimonies of the Lord's gracious presence with his own ordinances, there was a youth of fourteen years of age (being the son of one of the magistrates) so wrought upon by the ministry of the word, as, for divers months, he was held under such affliction of mind, as he could not be brought to apprehend any comfort in God, being much humbled and broken for his sins, (though he had been a dutiful child, and not given up to the lusts of youth,) and especially for his blasphemous and wicked thoughts, whereby Satan buffeted him, so as he went mourning and languishing daily ; yet, attending to the means, and not giving over prayer, and seeking counsel, etc., he came at length to be freed from his temptations, and to find comfort in God's promises, and so, being received into the congregation, upon good proof of his understanding in the things of God, he went on cheerfully in a Christian course, falling daily to labor, as a servant, and as a younger brother of his did, who was no whit short of him in the knowledge of God's will, though

his youth kept him from daring to offer himself to the congregation. — Upon this occasion it is not impertinent (though no credit nor regard be to be had of dreams in these days) to report a dream, which the father of these children had at the same time, viz., that, coming into his chamber, he found his wife (she was a very gracious woman) in bed, and three or four of their children lying by her, with most sweet and smiling countenances, with crowns upon their heads, and blue ribbons about their leaves. When he awaked, he told his wife his dream, and made this interpretation of it, that God would take of her children to make them fellow heirs with Christ in his kingdom.”

The ages of the youths referred to in the above account correspond exactly with those of Stephen Winthrop, born in 1618, and Adam, born in 1620; while no one, we are sure, who has read their mother's letters in our previous volume will be disposed to doubt the applicability to her of her husband's parenthesis, — “She was a very gracious woman.” And, certainly, if any one had earned a right to be refreshed by delightful dreams of future happiness, whether for himself or for those nearest and dearest to him, it was one who, like Governor Winthrop, had abandoned so many “sober certainties of waking bliss” in his native land, and had so consecrated himself to the service of God and his fellow-men in building up a church and a Christian Commonwealth in the wilderness.

CHAPTER VIII.

WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1633. JOHN COTTON'S POLITICAL SERMON, AND ITS RESULT. DUDLEY ELECTED GOVERNOR IN 1634, AND WINTHROP CALLED TO AN ACCOUNT. HIS VINDICATION OF HIMSELF.

ON the twenty-ninth day of May, 1633, another general election was held, agreeably to the provisions of the charter; when Winthrop was again chosen Governor. Some of the passages which have been quoted from the Journal in the preceding chapter bear date, as will have been seen, within the political year of which this election was the commencement; and we find but few other incidents of a personal character during its progress. Here, however, towards the close of the term, is a brief entry which shows the nature of the extra-official duties which Winthrop occasionally performed:—

"3 April.] The governour went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister, spent the sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophecy, and returned home the 10th."

The Governor was doubtless the more willing to visit Agawam (Ipswich), even on foot, and to render any service which could be required of him there, inasmuch as that plantation had been commenced the year before by his son, John Winthrop, Jr., who was still residing there,

and who was destined to bury his first wife there, not many months afterwards.¹

We have no record of the character of the Governor's discourse on this occasion ; but another sermon was soon afterwards delivered in Boston, by one of the regular ministers of the Colony, which produced a memorable influence upon the course of public affairs.

The Rev. John Cotton, whose memory will ever be cherished with the deepest respect and veneration in New England, had arrived at Boston in September, 1633 ; and had entered without delay upon the duties of his profession. Coming from Boston in Old England, where he had been rector of the church whose noble tower is still the pride of all the region round about, he could not fail to receive a cordial welcome in the little transatlantic town which had been named — so says Hubbard — out of respect to his character, and in hopeful anticipation of his soon becoming one of its inhabitants. His influence in spiritual affairs seems to have been manifested at once, and by the most welcome fruits. As early as the following December, we find the subjoined passage in the Governor's Journal : —

"It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to that church, than to all the other churches in the bay, (or rather the lake, for so it were more properly termed, the bay being that part of

¹ Miss Caulkins, in her excellent "History of New London," gives the date of the death, May 14, 1634 ; but we have a letter of the younger Winthrop's to his father, from Agawam, dated 20th July, 1634, in which he refers to his wife as still living. She probably died not long after this latter date. The letter contains nothing else of interest. In the Appendix (No. II.) will be found a letter from the elder Winthrop, of uncertain date, but which is believed to belong to this period.

sea without between the two capes, Cape Cod and Cape Ann). Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. Yea, the Lord gave witness to the exercise of prophecy, so as thereby some were converted, and others much edified. Also, the Lord pleased greatly to bless the practice of discipline, wherein he gave the pastor, Mr. Wilson, a singular gift, to the great benefit of the church.

"After much deliberation and serious advice, the Lord directed the teacher, Mr. Cotton, to make it clear by the scripture, that the minister's maintenance, as well as all other charges of the church, should be defrayed out of a stock, or treasury, which was to be raised out of the weekly contribution; which accordingly was agreed upon."

Mr. Cotton seems, however, to have brought over with him from Old England some views, in relation to civil government, which were not quite palatable in Massachusetts; and he lost no time in giving expression to them in his pulpit exercises. We shall find other exhibitions of these views at a later date; but the following extract from the Governor's Journal will show at once both the character and the consequences of his first political sermon: —

"14 May.] At the general court, Mr. Cotton preached, and delivered this doctrine, that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convict, no more than the magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, etc., without like public trial, etc. This falling in question in the court, and the opinion of the rest of the ministers being asked, it was referred to further consideration.

"The court chose a new governour, viz., Thomas Dudley, Esq., the former deputy; and Mr. Ludlow was chosen deputy;

and John Haines, Esq., an assistant, and all the rest of the assistants chosen again."

Nothing could be more suggestive or more edifying, either in regard to pulpit politics or to the spirit of the Massachusetts Colony in those days, than the immediate juxtaposition of these two paragraphs. Cotton's argument was "referred to further consideration;" but his conclusion was instantly overruled, and the power of the people to elect their own magistrates—putting down one, and setting up another, at their pleasure—was asserted and vindicated in the very hour in which it was questioned. Other considerations may have entered into the decision of the General Court on this occasion. There may have been some jealousy of Winthrop's long continuance in office;¹ and we have already seen reason for thinking that Dudley was not unambitious of promotion: but, as the record stands, the result was a wholesome rebuke upon the first suggestion in Massachusetts of a vested right on the part of any incumbent in the political office which he may happen to hold.

Thomas Dudley was now Governor of Massachusetts; but Winthrop did not retire from the public service. On the contrary, he was placed at the head of the Board of Assistants, and exhibited no hesitation in accepting the office. His account of the proceedings of the court proves his entire acquiescence in the result; and his entertainment of the new Governor, at his own house, on the occasion, leaves no room for doubt that their relations were altogether amicable.

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, book ii. chap. iv. sec. 7, pp. 112, 113.

The Journal of this date proceeds as follows, and furnishes the origin of the representative system in Massachusetts:—

“At this court it was ordered, that four general courts should be kept every year, and that the whole body of the freemen should be present only at the court of election of magistrates, etc., and that, at the other three, every town should send their deputies, who should assist in making laws, disposing lands, etc. Many good orders were made this court. It held three days, and all things were carried very peaceably, notwithstanding that some of the assistants were questioned by the freemen for some errors in their government, and some fines imposed, but remitted again before the court brake up. The court was kept in the meeting-house at Boston, and the new governour and the assistants were together entertained at the house of the old governour, as before.”

On the retirement of Winthrop from the chief magistracy, which he had held, without intermission, since his original election in London on the 20th of October, 1629, an inquiry was instituted into the pecuniary affairs of the colony, and “the Deputy-Governor [Mr. Roger Ludlow], Mr. Israel Stoughton, and Mr. Coxeall, were desired by the Court to take an accompt of John Winthrop, Esq., for such commodities as he hath received of the common stock.”¹ At the next court but one, commenced on the 3d of September, 1634, it was ordered, “that the declaratory accompt of John Winthrop, Esq., late Governor, now exhibited into Court, shall be recorded.” This account has accordingly come down to us in an authentic form, and is found upon the public records of the Colony. It is a most interesting

¹ The Records of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 120.

paper, and throws not a little light both upon the condition of the Colony and upon the character of Governor Winthrop. Before giving it in full, however,—as we shall presently do,—the opportunity is a fit one for a brief explanation of his previous course in regard to pecuniary matters, since his election as Governor of Massachusetts.

At the General Court held on the 9th of May, 1632, Winthrop made a speech, after his election to the chief magistracy, of which he gives the following account in his Journal of that date:—

“The governour, among other things, used this speech to the people, after he had taken his oath: That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had also received many kindnesses from particular persons, which he would not refuse, lest he should be accounted uncourteous, etc.; but he professed, that he received them with a trembling heart, in regard of God’s rule, and the consciousness of his own infirmity; and therefore desired them, that hereafter they would not take it ill, if he did refuse presents from particular persons, except they were from the assistants, or from some special friends; to which no answer was made; but he was told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place.”

It is thus seen that the Governor, up to this time, had received no regular salary or “allowance towards the charge of his place,” but that occasional gratuities had been sent to him from divers towns, together with “many kindnesses from particular persons,” which he desired the liberty thereafter to decline. It may be remembered, too, that in his controversy with Dudley,

in the following August, he stated, in self-defence, that, "for want of a public stock, he had disbursed all common charges out of his own estate."

On the 2d of July, 1633, the following passage is found in the Journal:—

"At a court it was agreed, that the governour, John Winthrop, should have, towards his charges this year, £150, and the money, which he had disbursed in public business, as officers' wages, etc., being between two and three hundred pounds, should be forthwith paid."¹

A share of the common lands was granted to Winthrop, of course, as to others of the colonists, from time to time. We have seen that six hundred acres were assigned to him near his house at Mistick, in September, 1631; and in April, 1632, the island called Conant's Island was granted to him and his heirs and assigns, upon a kind of perpetual lease, he paying an outright consideration of forty shillings, and a yearly rent of twelve pence, and promising to plant a vineyard and an orchard, of which the fifth part of the fruits and profits were to belong to the Governor for the time being, for ever. The name of this island was thenceforth to be "The Governor's Garden." On the 4th of March, 1634-5, the General Court changed the terms on which the island was granted, and declared that the rent should be "a hogshead of the best wyne that shall

¹ The Records of the Colony leave it doubtful whether the allowance to the Governor was £150 or only £100 "towards his public charges and extraordinary expenses;" while the treasurer's account of all payments to Winthrop for actual disbursements in the public service makes the whole amount to have been £328. 10s. — *Winthrop's Hist. of N. E.*, vol. i. pp. 124-5, note.

grow there, to be paid yearly, after the death of the said John Winthrop, and noething before.”¹ The grape culture, if ever seriously undertaken, undoubtedly proved a failure; for, in 1640, the rent was once more changed to “two bushels of apples every yeare, — one bushell to the Governor, & another to the Generall Court in winter, — the same to bee of the best apples then growing.”² Accordingly, in the Records of the General Court, held at Boston “the seventh day of the eighth month,” 1640, we find formal mention that “Mr. Winthrope, Senior, paid in his bushell of apples.”³ The island remained in the possession of a branch of the Winthrop Family until a few years since, when it was purchased by the United States; and the fortification which stands upon it has since been known to the Government and the country by the name of “Fort Winthrop.”

“About fifty acres of mead ground” were also granted to the Governor in 1632, which are described as “lying betwixte Cobbetts howse and Wanottymies River;” and, in 1633–4, “the Ware at Mistick” was granted in common to John Winthrop and Matthew Cradock.

These grants of unimproved land, in a wilderness, could have been of little immediate value or profit, and were made, from time to time, to all the principal colonists alike, probably in no unequal proportion, and with a primary view to their being reclaimed and cultivated.

¹ Records of the Colony, vol. i. p. 139.

² Ibid., p. 293.

³ Ibid., p. 301.

We are now prepared for the more detailed account of Governor Winthrop's pecuniary relations to the Massachusetts Colony, during "the four years and near an half" in which he had held the office of Chief Magistrate. The financial part of this paper is, however, by no means its most interesting feature. The declaration, that he "was first chosen to be Governour without his seeking or expectation;" the statement that in this office he had continued four years and near an half, "although [says he] I earnestly desired, at every election, to have been freed;" the protestation, that, notwithstanding all the trials and troubles he had encountered, "it repenteth me not of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me;" and the concluding request, "that, as it stands upon record, that, upon the discharge of my office, I was called to accompt, so this my declaration may be recorded also, lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it,"—all are calculated to throw a light upon the history and character of their author, which we might in vain have looked for under any other circumstances. But the "accompt" must no longer be prevented from speaking for itself; and it is here given entire from the Records of the Colony:—

"The Accompt of John Winthrop, Esq., late Governour.

"Whereas, by order of the last general court, commissioners were appointed, viz., Roger Ludlow, Esq. the deputy governour, and Mr. Israel Stoughton, gent. to receive my accompt of such things as I have received and disbursed for public use in the time of my government; in all due observance and submission to the order of the said court, I do make this declaratory accompt ensuing:—

"First, I affirm, that I never received any moneys or other goods committed to me in trust for the commonwealth, otherwise than is hereafter expressed.

"Item, I acknowledge I have in my custody certain barrels of common powder, and some match and drumheads, with some things belonging to the ordnance; which powder, being landed at Charlestown, and exposed to the injury of the weather, I took and bestowed first in a tent, which I made of mine own broadcloth, (being then worth eight shillings the yard, but in that service much spoiled). After, I removed it to my storehouse at Boston, where it still remains, save that some of it hath been spent in public service, and five barrels delivered to Dorchester, and four to Roxbury, and three barrels I sold to some ships that needed them, which I will allow powder or money for. The rest I am ready to deliver up to such as shall be appointed to receive them. I received also some meal and peas, from Mr. White of Dorchester in England, and from Mr. Roe of London, which was bestowed upon such as had need thereof in the several towns; as also £10 given by Mr. Thomson. I received also from Mr. Humfrey, some rugs, frieze suits, shoes, and hose, (the certain value whereof I must know from himself,) with letters of direction to make use of the greatest part thereof, as given to help bear out my charge for the public. I paid for the freight of these goods, and disposed of the greatest part of them to others; but how, I cannot set down. I made use, also, of two pair of carriage

wheels, which I will allow for : I had not meddled with them, but that they lay useless for want of the carriages, which were left in England. For my disbursements, I have formerly delivered to the now deputy a bill of part of them, amounting to near £300, which I disbursed for public services divers years since, for which I have received in corn, at six shillings the bushel, (and which will not yield me above four shillings,) about £180, or near so much. I disbursed also for the transportation of Mr. Phillips his family, which was to be borne by the government till he should be chosen to some particular congregation.

"Now, for my other charges, by occasion of my place of government, it is well known I have expended much, and somewhat I have received towards it, which I should have rested satisfied with, but that, being called to account, I must mention my disbursements with my receipts, and, in both, shall refer myself to the pleasure of the court.

"I was first chosen to be governour without my seeking or expectation, (there being then divers other gent. who, for their abilities every way, were far more fit.) Being chosen, I furnished myself with servants and provisions accordingly, in a far greater proportion than I would have done, had I come as a private man, or as an assistant only. In this office I continued four years and near an half, although I earnestly desired, at every election, to have been freed. In this time, I have spent above £500 per annum, of which £200 per annum would have maintained my family in a private condition. So as I may truly say, I have spent, by occasion of my late office, above £1200. Towards this I have received, by way of benevolence, from some towns, about £50, and, by the last year's allowance, £150, and, by some provisions sent by Mr. Humfrey, as is before-mentioned, about £50, or, it may be, somewhat more.

"I also disbursed, at our coming away, in England, for powder and great shot, £216, which I did not put into my bill of charges formerly delivered to the now deputy, because

I did expect to have paid myself out of that part of Mr. Johnson's estate, which he gave to the public; but, finding that it will fall far short, I must put it to this accompt.

"The last thing, which I offer to the consideration of the court, is, that my long continuance in the said office hath put me into such a way of unavoidable charge, as will be still as chargeable to me as the place of governour will be to some others. In all these things, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this commonwealth; but do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request, (which in justice may not be denied me,) that, as it stands upon record, that, upon the discharge of my office, I was called to accompt, so this my declaration may be recorded also; lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it, etc.

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"SEPTEMBER 4th, 1634."

Governor Hutchinson, in his "History of Massachusetts," regards the investigation which called forth this paper as having been a hostile proceeding; and, after remarking that Winthrop "discharged himself with great honor," says, in a note, that "he might have torn his books of accounts, as Scipio Africanus did, and given the ungrateful populace this answer: A Colony, now in a flourishing estate, has been led out and settled under my direction. My own substance is consumed. Spend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God."¹

¹ Hutchinson's Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 43.

We are not disposed, however, to complain of the proceeding in any light in which it can be regarded. It presents a salutary example of the strictness of our New-England fathers in holding even the highest and most honored of their rulers to account for the exercise of their authority and for the care of the public property. It exhibits the scrupulous exactness which was demanded of the servants of the Commonwealth in those early days, and inculcates a lesson of responsibility which may well be studied by their successors. Above all, it afforded Governor Winthrop an opportunity to leave upon the pages of history a record of his submission, his integrity, and his disinterested regard for the welfare of the infant Colony he had planted, which will redound to his honor to the latest generations.

Two letters of the Governor to his son John, who had gone to England in company with the excellent Wilson, soon after the bereavement to which reference has already been made, may form a not uninteresting conclusion to this chapter. They are both without signature:—

John Winthrop to his Son.

“To my loving Son, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, d’d. at Mr. Downing his Chamber, in the Inner Temple Lane, London.

“MY DEAR SON,—I hope the Lord hath carried you safe to England, with our most dear Mr. Warner,¹ and the rest

¹ Undoubtedly, as Mr. Savage suggests, Wilson is meant. But, as there was danger to be apprehended by Puritan ministers in England at that period, Winthrop may have purposely changed the name, lest the letter should fall into wrong hands, and subject Wilson to arrest. It will be observed that he tells his son to “advise Mr. W. to keep close by all means.”

of our good brethren and friends. There is nothing befallen since your departure, but Mr. Peirce came from Naraganset, three days after, with five hundred bushels of corn only. At the court it was informed, that some of Salem had taken out a piece of the cross in their ensign; whereupon we sent forth an attachment to bring in the parties at the next court, where they are like to be punished for their indiscreet zeal, for the people are generally offended with it. Mrs. W.¹ was at first very much affected with her husband's departure, but she is now well pacified. I intend to send this letter by Capt. Underhill, who hath leave to go and see his friends in Holland. If he come to you, he can inform you of all things here. As I was writing this, Richard came in and told me the dogs had killed an old wolf this morning in our neck. She made more resistance than both the former. I have many things to write to you about, for such necessities as are to be provided and sent over; but this occasion is sudden, and I can't think of them, but shall write more largely by Mr. P. if the Lord will. Yourself know what will be needful, and therefore may consider accordingly. Remember copperas, white and green, and two or three pounds of Paracelsus's plaister, and some East Indian bezoar, store of sail cloth, nails, cordage, pitch, tallow and wick, steel spades and shovels, two hand saws and small axes, the best of all, whatever they cost. Commend us to all our good friends where you be come, Mr. W. and the rest, your uncles, aunts, &c. Advise Mr. W. to keep close by all means, and make haste back. The good Lord bless and prosper you, that we may see your face with joy. Your mother, &c. salute and bless you. Farewell.

"NOVEMBER 6, 1634."

¹ Mrs. Wilson.

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my dear Son, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, at the House of Mr. Downing, in Lincoln's Fields, near the Golden Lion Tavern, London, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON, — The Lord bless thee ever.

"I wrote to you by Capt. Underhill, who went hence in Mr. Babb's ship; since which time here arrived a ship from Barnstable of two hundred tons, Mr. Packers master. She brought about twenty passengers and forty cattle. She lost but two, and yet was seventeen weeks outward bound, whereof five in Ireland. She now returns empty with Mr. Peirce, by whom I send these.

"All things continue as when you left us; only Mrs. Warham is dead, and Mr. Hooker's young son, (who died of the small pox, which are very rife at Newtown,) and two men of our town, Willys and Doretye; and two lads were cast away in a great tempest at N. E. on Friday, November 21, in the night, between Noddle's Island and Boston, in a small boat, which they had overladen with wood. Myself and divers others were in the same tempest, not without some peril, but the Lord preserved us. Mr. Sewall's boat was then in the cove at the head of Cape Ann, and broken to pieces, but the men and goods saved. The pestilent fever hath taken away some at Plimouth; among others, Mr. Prence, the governour his wife, and Mr. Allerton's wife.

"We met the last week, to consider about the business of the ensign at Salem, and have written a letter to my brother Downing, wherein, under our hands, we signify our dislike of the action, and our purpose to punish the offenders.¹

"I wrote to you in my former letter about divers things, which we should have need of, which I will here insert also, with addition of some others.²

"The Pekods sent two embassies to us. The first time, they went away without answer. The next time, we agreed

¹ Six lines are here erased, possibly at the time of writing, but it may be since.

² The list will be found in the fourth paragraph from this.

a peace with them, (for friendly commerce only,) which was that they desired, having now war with the Dutch and Narigansetts, upon these terms, viz., that they should deliver us those men, who killed Capt. Stone, etc., and surrender up to us their right in Conecticott, which they willingly agreed unto, and offered us a great present of wampompeag, and beavers, and otter, with this expression, that we might, with part thereof, procure their peace with the Narigansetts, (themselves standing upon terms of honor, not to offer any thing of themselves).

"Winter hath begun early with us. The bay hath been frozen all over, but is now open again; and we had a snow last week of much depth in many places. It came with so violent a storm, as it put by our lecture for that day. I wish that, in your return, you would observe the winds and weather, every day, that we may see how it agrees with our parts.

"Mr. Ward continues at your house this winter, and Mr. Clerk (to give him content) in his own. Mr. Cl. finds much fault with your servants John and Sarah, and tells me they will not earn their bread, and that Ned is worth them all.

"Spades and shovels; felling axes, and other small axes; nails of 6, 10 and 20; piercer bitts; sithes for grass, and two brush sithes; copperas, white and green; Emplastrum Paracelsi, two or three lb.; Emplastrum de mim; trading cloth, good store, if money may be had; brown thread, and hair buttons, and a hogshead of twine for herring nets; shoes, two soled, strong, and the best Irish stockings and wash leather stockings; strong cloth suits, unlined and lined suits of canvas; suet, tallow, and wick; a carpenter, and a husbandman, and a rope-maker, and a cooper; some muskets; store of brimstone; a brake for hemp.

"Bring the more of all necessities, because this is the last we shall have without custom.¹

¹ The power to transport persons and things, without paying custom, was limited by the Charter of the Colony to seven years.

"If my brother Tindale would let you have £100, you may give him assurance of so much in cattle here, to be presently set out for my wife and her children, with the increase, or for £200, if he will.

"Commend us to all our good friends, your aunt Downing, and uncle G. and aunt, those at Maplested, Graces, Assington, Groton, Charter-House, Sir Richard S. and his son, and all the rest, as you have occasion, Mr. Kirby, etc., and Mr. Howes; and make haste back. And if there be any matter of importance, write by the first fishing ships. Direct your letters to Capt. Wiggin, or Mr. Hilton. Your mother and the rest are in health, (I praise God). We all salute you. The good Lord direct, keep and bless you. Farewell, my good son.

"DECEMBER 12, 1634."

CHAPTER IX.

WINTHROP'S AGENCY IN THE DIVISION OF THE TOWN-LANDS, AND THE RESERVATION OF BOSTON COMMON. THE ARRIVAL OF HUGH PETERS AND HENRY VANE. WINTHROP ACCUSED OF TOO MUCH LENITY. RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH COVENANT.

DURING the year 1634, Winthrop seems to have been much occupied with the affairs of Boston, as well as with those of the Commonwealth at large. The earliest remaining records of Boston, commencing in September of this year, are in his own handwriting; and his name stands at the head of the list of those present at the meeting to which they relate. In December of the same year, he was elected chairman of a board of seven men "to divide and dispose of all such lands, belonging to the town, as are not yet in the lawful possession of any particular person, to the inhabitants of the town, according to the order of the court; leaving such portions in common, for the use of newcomers, and the further benefit of the town, as in their best discretion they shall think fit."

There seems to have been some difficulty about this election at the first trial, although the town-records make no mention of it, and only give an account of the second trial, when the choice was consummated. The Journal of Winthrop gives the following account, under date of Dec. 11, 1634:—

"This day, after the lecture, the inhabitants of Boston met to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them. They chose by papers, and in their choice left out Mr. Coddington, and other of the chief men; only they chose one of the elders and a deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort [and Mr. Winthrop had the greater number before one of them by a voice or two].¹ This they did, as fearing that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had oft persuaded them unto, as best for the town, etc. Mr. Cotton and divers others were offended at this choice, because they declined the magistrates; and Mr. Winthrop refused to be one upon such an election as was carried by a voice or two, telling them, that though, for his part, he did not apprehend any personal injury, nor did doubt of their good affection towards him, yet he was much grieved that Boston should be the first who should shake off their magistrates, especially Mr. Coddington, who had been always so forward for their enlargement; adding further reason of declining this choice, to blot out so bad a precedent. Whereupon, at the motion of Mr. Cotton, who showed them that it was the Lord's order among the Israelites to have all such businesses committed to the elders, and that it had been nearer the rule to have chosen some of each sort, etc., they all agreed to go to a new election, which was referred to the next lecture day."

On the next lecture-day, accordingly, every thing went smoothly; and Winthrop, Coddington, Bellingham Cotton, Oliver, Colburn, and Baulstone were chosen. It is to the Board thus appointed, and to the policy of John Winthrop, who presided over it,

¹ The passage enclosed by brackets has been partially erased in the original, and, as Mr. Savage thinks, by the author himself. It makes the story a little plainer, however, and is entirely consistent with all the rest of it.

that we owe the reservation from this division of lands of THE COMMON, which now constitutes so much of the beauty and pride of Boston.¹

At the General Court of January, 1634-5, Winthrop was elected, with the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and ten others, a member of a commission for military affairs, with "power of life and limb."

On the 6th of May, 1635, the general election of colonial rulers occurred again; when Dudley, in his turn, and after only a single year's service, was left out of the chief magistracy, and John Haynes chosen in his place. Winthrop was again placed at the head of the Board of Assistants, and in that capacity continued his devoted service to the affairs of the Commonwealth.

In the month of October of this year, John Winthrop the younger returned from England, "with commission from the Lord Say, Lord Brook, and divers other great persons, to begin a plantation at Connecticut, and to be Governour there." During his absence, he had taken for his second wife, Elizabeth Reade, daughter of Edmund Reade, Esq., of Essex County, England, who now accompanied him. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, returned at the same time, accompanied by Thomas Shepard, soon to be known, and ever afterwards to be remembered, as the eminent minister of Cam-

¹ Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. p. 379. The late Henry A. S. Dearborn, whose ardor and enterprise in every good work will not soon be forgotten, had drawn attention to this fact many years before, in several articles in one of our newspapers, in which he claimed that the Common should be called by the name of the man by whose efforts it had thus been saved for posterity; but we should be sorry to lose the ancient popular designation.

bridge. The two latter came in the ship "Defence;" but in the "Abigail," with the younger Winthrop, were two persons who were destined to play even a more conspicuous part in the history of the infant Colony during their stay here, and who were doomed to a common and melancholy fate after their return to England. One of these persons was Hugh Peter or Peters,¹ whom Governor Winthrop describes, in the passage of his Journal announcing his arrival, as "Mr. Peter, pastor of the English church in Rotterdam, who, being persecuted by the English ambassador, — who would have brought his and other churches to the English discipline, — and not having had his health these many years, intended to advise with the ministers here about his removal." Peters had married for his first wife "one Mistress Read, a widow woman, dwelling near unto him," who was undoubtedly the mother of John Winthrop, jr.'s second wife. He is thus sometimes spoken of, in the correspondence of the time, as the father of the younger Winthrop; while Governor Winthrop the elder frequently entitles him "brother Peter." Hugh Peters had long before taken an interest in the colonization of New England. He was one of the earliest members of the Massachusetts

¹ Hugh Peters, as he is generally called in history, habitually spelt his own name without the final s. There is a scandalous Biography of him by Dr. William Yonge, who was the principal witness against him at his trial as one of the Regicides, and who had thus cost him his life. It was printed in London in 1663, and dedicated to Henrietta Maria, the widowed queen of Charles I. It speaks of him as having once been a Jester, or Fool, in Shakspeare's Company of Players. It also accuses him of great profligacy of all sorts. But the book professes to have been "penned at some few spare hours in a fortnight's retirement into the country," and is evidently a hasty and heated emanation of personal and political hatred.

Company, and one of the signers of the Instructions to Endicott in 1628. It is possible that his connection with the Winthrops may have first induced him to come over, and see the Colony for himself.

The other and still more distinguished new-comer is introduced by Governor Winthrop as follows:—

“Here came also one Mr. Henry Vane, son and heir to Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the king’s house, who, being a young gentleman of excellent parts, and had been employed by his father (when he was ambassador) in foreign affairs; yet, being called to the obedience of the gospel, forsook the honors and preferments of the court, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here. His father, being very averse to this way, (as no way savoring the power of religion,) would hardly have consented to his coming hither, but that, acquainting the king with his son’s disposition and desire, he commanded him to send him hither, and gave him license for three years’ stay here.”

These gentlemen seem to have manifested an active interest in the affairs both of Church and State at the earliest moment after their arrival. On the 1st of November, “Mr. Vane was admitted a member of the church of Boston;” on the 26th of November, Hugh Peters is recorded as having, while “preaching at Boston and Salem, moved the country to raise a stock for fishing, as the only probable means to free us from that oppression, which the seamen and others held us under;” and, on the 18th of January, within three months after they had landed on the shores of New England, we find them associated in a movement of which Winthrop gives the following detailed account,

which will be found to throw not a little light upon his own course and character, as well as upon the condition of the plantation:—

“Mr. Vane and Mr. Peter, finding some distraction in the commonwealth, arising from some difference in judgment, and withal some alienation of affection among the magistrates and some other persons of quality, and that hereby factions began to grow among the people, some adhering more to the old governour, Mr. Winthrop, and others to the late governour, Mr. Dudley,—the former carrying matters with more lenity, and the latter with more severity,—they procured a meeting, at Boston, of the governour, deputy, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilson, and there was present Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and themselves; where, after the Lord had been sought, Mr. Vane declared the occasion of this meeting, (as is before noted,) and the fruit aimed at, viz. a more firm and friendly uniting of minds, etc., especially of the said Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop, as those upon whom the weight of the affairs did lie, etc., and therefore desired all present to take up a resolution to deal freely and openly with the parties, and they each with other, that nothing might be left in their breasts, which might break out to any jar or difference hereafter, (which they promised to do).

“Then Mr. Winthrop spake to this effect: that when it pleased Mr. Vane to acquaint him with what he had observed, of the dispositions of men’s minds inclining to the said faction, etc., it was very strange to him, professing solemnly that he knew not of any breach between his brother Dudley and himself, since they were reconciled long since, neither did he suspect any alienation of affection in him or others from himself, save that, of late, he had observed, that some new comers had estranged themselves from him, since they went to dwell at Newtown; and so desired all the company, that, if they had seen any thing amiss in his gov-

ernment or otherwise, they would deal freely and faithfully with him, and for his part he promised to take it in good part, and would endeavor, by God's grace, to amend it.

"Then Mr. Dudley spake to this effect: that for his part he came thither a mere patient, not with any intent to charge his brother Winthrop with any thing; for though there had been formerly some differences and breaches between them, yet they had been healed, and, for his part, he was not willing to renew them again; and so left it to others to utter their own complaints.

"Whereupon the governour, Mr. Haynes, spake to this effect: that Mr. Winthrop and himself had been always in good terms, etc.; therefore he was loath to give any offence to him, and he hoped that, considering what the end of this meeting was, he would take it in good part, if he did deal openly and freely, as his manner ever was. Then he spake of one or two passages, wherein he conceived, that [he] dealt too remissly in point of justice; to which Mr. Winthrop answered, that his speeches and carriage had been in part mistaken; but withal professed, that it was his judgment, that in the infancy of plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits; but, if it might be made clear to him, that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a stricter course. Then the ministers were desired to consider of the question by the next morning, and to set down a rule in the case. The next morning, they delivered their several reasons, which all sorted to this conclusion, that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honor and safety of the gospel. Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he was convinced, that he had failed in over much lenity and remissness, and would endeavor (by God's assistance) to take a more strict course hereafter. Whereupon

there was a renewal of love amongst them, and articles drawn to this effect:—

"1. That there should be more strictness used in civil government and military discipline.

"2. That the magistrates should (as far as might be) ripen their consultations beforehand, that their vote in public might bear (as the voice of God).

"3. That, in meetings out of court, the magistrates should not discuss the business of parties in their presence, nor deliver their opinions, etc.

"4. That trivial things, etc., should be ended in towns, etc.

"5. If differences fall out among them in public meetings, they shall observe these rules:—

"1. Not to touch any person differing, but speak to the cause.

"2. To express their difference in all modesty and due respect to the court and such as differ, etc.

"3. Or to propound their difference by way of question.

"4. Or to desire a deferring of the cause to further time.

"5. After sentence, (if all have agreed,) none shall intimate his dislike privately; or, if one dissent, he shall sit down, without showing any further distaste, publicly or privately.

"6. The magistrates shall be more familiar and open each to other, and more frequent in visitations, and shall, in tenderness and love, admonish one another, (without reserving any secret grudge,) and shall avoid all jealousies and suspicions, each seeking the honor of another, and all, of the court, not opening the nakedness of one another to private persons; in all things seeking the safety and credit of the gospel.

"7. To honor the governour in submitting to him the main direction and ordering the business of the court.

"8. One assistant shall not seem to gratify any man in undoing or crossing another's proceedings, without due advice with him.

"9. They shall grace and strengthen their under officers in their places, etc.

"10. All contempts against the court, or any of the magistrates, shall be specially noted and punished; and the magistrates shall appear more solemnly in public, with attendance, apparel, and open notice of their entrance into the court."

It would seem, from this account, that the only charge arrayed against Winthrop on this occasion was for having "dealt too remissly in point of justice in one or two passages," or, as it is also expressed, for having "failed in over-much lenity." Winthrop was of opinion, it appears, that, "in the infancy of plantations, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits." But Governor Haynes was of another mind, and so were Vane and Peters. Even the ministers, too,—Cotton and Wilson and Hooker,—were in favor of a more rigorous administration of the government; and, upon the matter being referred to them for decision, they delivered an opinion precisely the opposite of that which Winthrop had expressed, pronouncing "that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in settled states, as tending to the honor and safety of the Gospel."

It would be vain to enter into any argument at the present day as to which party had the right in this controversy; but Winthrop will not suffer with posterity

for having been convicted of too much lenity by the Puritan leaders, and for having stood alone in that memorable council on the side of moderation. Nor will posterity omit to make the proper allowances, if any thing of unaccustomed severity should seem to exhibit itself in any part of his subsequent career. So emphatic a rebuke of his lenity could hardly fail to have made a lasting impression upon one who showed such habitual deference to the ministers from whom it proceeded. It will be observed, that he at once acknowledged himself convinced, and promised "to endeavor (by God's assistance) to take a more strict course hereafter."

And here occurs a most agreeable and striking coincidence. This impeachment of Winthrop's remissness in the execution of justice, and of the general lenity of his course, was almost precisely simultaneous with the censure and condemnation of Roger Williams. It was in October, 1635, that Williams was sentenced by the General Court of Massachusetts to depart out of their jurisdiction within six weeks; and it was in the January following, and within seven days of this judgment against Winthrop for his "too much lenity," that Governor Haynes and the Assistants, being informed that Roger Williams, to whom liberty had been granted "to stay till the spring," was using this liberty for preaching and propagating the doctrines for which he had been censured, despatched Captain Underhill with a commission to apprehend him, with a view to his being shipped off to England. Winthrop, it is well known, befriended the great founder of Rhode

Island, and apostle of toleration, in his exile; and the most affectionate correspondence was kept up between them as long as Winthrop lived.¹

A few weeks after the meeting at which Winthrop's lenity was censured, we find the following entry in the Journal: —

"25 February.] The distractions about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great scarcity of corn, etc., occasioned a general fast to [be] proclaimed, which, because the court was not at hand, was moved by the elders of the churches, and assented unto by the ministers. The church of Boston renewed their covenant this day, and made a large explanation of that which they had first entered into, and acknowledged such failings as had fallen out, etc."

A copy of what is believed to have been this renewed and enlarged Covenant is still extant among the Winthrop Papers, and will form a fitting close to this chapter: —

CHURCH COVENANT.

"Wee who through the exceeding riches of Grace & patience of God doe yet continue members of this church, being now assembled in the holy presence of God, & in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble confession of our manifold breaches of covenant before the Lord our God, & earnest supplication of pardoning mercy through the blood of Christ, & deep acknowledgement of our great unworthyness to be owned as the Lord's covenant people; Also acknowledging our in-

¹ A very large proportion of all the letters of Roger Williams, which have survived the lapse of time, are addressed to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, or to his son the Governor of Connecticut. More than sixty have been recently published in the sixth volume, fourth series, of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, and at least thirty had been previously printed in vols. ix. and x. of the third series.

ability to keep covenant with God, or to performe any spirituall duty unlesse the Lord Jesus do enable us thereunto, by his spirit dwelling in us: and being awfully sensible, that it is a dreadfull thing for sinfull dust & ashes, personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth: We doe in humble confidence of his gracious assistance & acceptance through Christ, Each one of us severally for our selves, & jointly as a church of the living God, explicitly renew our Covenant with God, & one with another in manner & forme following:—That is to say,—

"Wee doe give up ourselves unto that God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son & holy Spiritt, as the one only true and living God, and unto our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ as our onely Saviour, prophett, priest, & King over our soules, & onely mediator of the covenant of Grace; promiseing (by the helpe of his Spiritt and Grace) to cleave unto God as our chiefe Good, & unto the Lord Jesus Christ by faith in a way of Gospell obedience as becometh his covenant people for ever.

"Wee doe also give up our offspring unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be our God, & the God of our children, and ourselves, with our children, to be his people, humbly adoring this Grace of God, that, wee & our offspring with us, may be looked upon as the Lord's.

"Wee doe also give up our selves one unto another in the Lord, & according to the will of God, freely covenanting, & binding our selves to walke together as a right ordered Congregation, & church of Christ, in all wayes of his worship according to the holy rules of the word of God: promiseing in Brotherly love, faithfully to watch over one another's soules, & to submit our selves to the discipline & government of Christ in his Church, & duely to attend the seales, censures, or whatever ordinances Christ hath comāded should be observed, by his people according to the order of the Gospell.

"And whereas the Lord our God, hath of late brought us under very solemn & awfull dispensations of his holy provi-

dence, even so, as in some sort, to remove this Candlestick out of its place; wee must needs confesse before him, that he is righteous, & that by our transgressions against the covenant, we have deserved all the evill that is come upon us — particularly, Wee from our hearts bewaile it before the Lord, That wee have loved Christ no more, & the world with the things and vanities thereof so much, as also, that wee have no more loved one another with a pure heart fervently. [Wee must moreover confesse, That some amongst us have been visibly guilty of that sin of Pride in apparelling themselves or their children, otherwise then doth become their places, & those that professe Godlines. — And that some amongst us have been guilty, in respect of that too common, & prevailing sin of Excesse in drinking. Wee desire to be ashamed before the Lord our God this day, that ever such evils should be found amongst us, or in any of us]¹ & humbly apply our selves to the throne of Grace for pardoning mercy: and as an expedient to reformation of these, and what ever evils have provoked the Eyes of God's glory amongst us, Wee doe subjoine unto our church covenant a further engagement whereby wee doe as in the presence of God promise,

"1. That wee will (by the helpe of Christ) endeavour every one of us, to reforme his owne heart and life, by seeking to mortify all our sins, & endeavouring to walke more fully, firmly, and closely with God, then ever wee have done, & to uphold the power of Godlines, & that wee will continue to worship God in publicke, private, secrett; and this (as God shall helpe us) without formality, & hypocrisie, & more fully, faithfully then heretofore to discharge all covenant duties, one towards another in a way of church communion.

"2. Wee promise (by the helpe of Christ) to walke before God in our houses, with a perfect heart, & that wee will uphold the worship of God therein constantly, both in respect of

¹ These brackets are in the original paper, and seem to indicate that the subject was still under consideration; or, perhaps, that the words were stricken out.

prayer and reading the Scriptures, that so the word of Christ may dwell richly in us, & that wee will doe what in us lyeth to bring up our children for Christ, That they may become such, as they that have the Lords name put upon them by a solemn dedication to God in Christ, ought to be; & that therefore we will Catechise them, & Exhort and charge them to feare & serve the Lord, & endeavour to sett an holy Example before them, and be much in prayer for their Conversion and Salvation.

"3. Wee doe further Engage (the Lord helping of us) to keep ourselves pure from the Sins of the times, & in our places to endeavour the suppression thereof:—whether those Sins mentioned, or any other scandalous transgressions, against the first or second Table, & that we will make conscience to walke so as that we may not give occasion to others to sin, or to speake evill of our holy profession.

"Now that we may observe, & keep this sacred Covenant, & all the branches of it, inviolable forever, we desire to deny ourselves, and to depend wholly upon the power of the Eternall Spirit of Grace, & upon the free mercy of God, & meritt of Jesus Christ; & where we shall faile, there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for pardon, & for acceptance, & for healing for his name's sake."¹

¹ In our Appendix (No. III.) will be found the rough draft of a letter of the Governor's on the subject of this Covenant.

CHAPTER X.

COUNCILLORS FOR LIFE. WINTHROP CHOSEN ONE OF THEM.
RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES. CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS
SON.

ON the 7th of April, 1636, Winthrop states in his Journal that it was ordered by the General Court, "that a certain number of the Magistrates should be chosen for life." He adds, in a parenthesis, "for that it was showed from the Word of God &c. that the principal Magistrates ought to be for life."¹ Accordingly, at the next General Election, on the 25th of May, Henry Vane having been chosen Governor, John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were chosen Councilors for life. Winthrop was, at the same time, elected Deputy-Governor.

This Council for life was undoubtedly proposed by John Cotton, and is entirely in keeping with his memorable sermon at a previous election. It is found, also, in the draft of his "Model of Moses his Judicials," which was presented to the General Court, at their request, in October of this year. The following is the fourth article of the first chapter of this Mosaic code, as first printed at London in 1641:—

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i. p. 219.

"IV. And because these great affaires of the State cannot well and sufficiently be attended, nor wisely administered, if they be often changed, therefore the Councillors ought to be chosen for life, unless they give just cause of removall, which, if they doe, then they to be removed by the General Court."

No less than five texts of Scripture are cited in the margin as authorities for this provision. But it is no disparagement to John Cotton to suggest, as Mr. Savage has well done, that worldly and temporal motives may have added materially to the force of the scriptural precedents upon which this tenure for life was founded. Certain men of rank in England were at this time deeply interested in the progress of our plantation, and were supposed to be seriously inclined to come over and join it. It might easily be imagined that they would be less reluctant to abandon their high estate at home, if there was something in the nature of privilege and peerage to be enjoyed here. Indeed, Cotton himself holds out this precise idea in the following passage of a letter to Lord Say and Sele, written in this same year, 1636, in relation to certain propositions brought over by the younger Winthrop when he returned from England:—

"What our brethren, (magistrates, or ministers, or leading free-holders) will answer to the rest of the propositions, I shall better understand before the gentleman's returne from Connecticutt, who brought them over. Meanwhile, two of the principall of them, the General Court hath already condescended unto. 1. In establishing a Standing Councill, who, during their lives, should assist the Governor in managing the chiefest affayres of this little state. They have chosen for the present onely two (Mr. Winthrope and Mr. Dudley)

not willing to choose more, till they see what further better choyse the Lord will send over to them, that soe they may keep an open doore for such desireable gentlemen as your Lordship mentioneth. 2. They have granted the Governor and Assistants a negative voyce, and reserved to the freemen the like liberty also."

"An open doore for such desireable gentlemen as your Lordship mentioneth" doubtless suggests the leading idea of John Cotton, in the establishment of this Council for life. But it proved to be exceedingly distasteful to the people of the Colony, and lasted only for a few years. John Endicott was chosen a member of it in 1637; but his election seems to have been the last effort to increase its number, or prolong its existence. The aristocratic character of Cotton's proposition, however, will be a good deal less glaring, if we reflect that there was nothing hereditary in the tenure which it established; that it was, after all, neither more nor less than the judicial tenure—the *dum bene gesserint*—of our later constitutions; and that there was an acknowledged power of removal for misconduct by the General Court. In these early days, moreover, the supreme judicial power was probably in great part exercised by the councillors. Certainly, the complete separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial authority was reserved for more mature systems of government than that of Massachusetts in 1636.

The election of Vane to the chief magistracy so soon after his arrival was a signal testimony to the importance and influence which he had rapidly ac-

quired. His early consideration in the Colony may have owed something to his high connections at home. Winthrop says, in his Journal, "And because he was son and heir to a privy councillor in England, the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot." But Vane had ability and enterprise enough to have secured an ultimate success and celebrity without the aid of any mere family influence.

His administration of affairs in Massachusetts, however, was destined to be disturbed by a violence of religious and civil controversy, which has never been exceeded on the same soil, if on any soil beneath the sun. Winthrop thus sets forth the origin of this controversy, under date of Oct. 21 : —

"One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. — From these two grew many branches; as, 1. Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."

A large blank, immediately following this statement in the Journal, betokens an intention on the part of its author to have developed more deliberately the other "branches" which grew out of "the two dangerous errors." If he failed to fulfil that intention himself, his posterity may certainly be spared from making the attempt. He took his full share, notwithstanding, in the conduct of this memorable strife; and his

views have been amply unfolded in other parts of the Journal. Only nine days later, the subjoined narrative is found, giving a detailed account of a protracted discussion in the Boston Church, Winthrop being one of the chief speakers:—

"30.] Some of the church of Boston, being of the opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson, had labored to have Mr. Wheelwright to be called to be a teacher there. It was propounded the last Lord's day, and was moved again this day for resolution. One¹ of the church stood up and said, he could not consent, etc. His reason was, because the church being well furnished already with able ministers, whose spirits they knew, and whose labors God had blessed in much love and sweet peace, he thought it not fit (no necessity urging) to put the welfare of the church to the least hazard, as he feared they should do, by calling in one, whose spirit they knew not, and one who seemed to dissent in judgment, and instanced in two points, which he delivered in a late exercise there; 1. That a believer was more than a creature. 2. That the person of the Holy Ghost and a believer were united. Hereupon the governour [Vane] spake, that he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine. To this Mr. Cotton answered, that he did not remember the first, and desired Mr. Wheelwright to explain his meaning. He denied not the points, but showed upon what occasion he delivered them. Whereupon, there being an endeavor to make a reconciliation, the first replied, that, although Mr. Wheelwright and himself might likely agree about the point, and though he thought reverently of his godliness and abilities, so as he could be content to live under such a ministry; yet, seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations, he could not consent to choose him to that place. Whereupon

¹ "This, we cannot doubt," says Mr. Savage, "was Winthrop himself."

the church gave way, that he might be called to a new church, to be gathered at Mount Wollaston, now Braintree.

"Divers of the brethren took offence at the said speech against Mr. Wheelwright; whereupon the same brother¹ spake in the congregation the next day to this effect: That, hearing that some of the brethren were offended at his former speech, and for that offences were dangerous, he was desirous to give satisfaction. The offence, he said, was in three things: 1. For that he had charged the brother in public, and for a thing so long since delivered, and had not first dealt with him privately. For this he acknowledged it was a failing; but the occasion was, that, when he heard the points delivered, he took them in a good sense, as spoken figuratively, seeing the whole scope of his doctrine was sound, and savouring of the spirit of God; but hearing, very lately, that he was suspected to hold such opinions, it caused him to think, he spake as he meant. The 2d cause of offence was, that in his speech appeared some bitterness. For that he answered, that they well knew his manner of speech was always earnest in things which he conceived to be serious; and professed, that he did love that brother's person, and did honor the gifts and graces of God in him. The 3d was, that he had charged him to have held things which he did not. For this he answered, that he had spoken since with the said brother; and for the two points, — that a believer should be more than a creature, and that there should be a personal union between the Holy Ghost and a believer, — he had denied to hold either of them; but by necessary consequence, he doth hold them both; for he holds, (said he,) that there is a real union with the person of the Holy Ghost, and then of necessity it must be personal, and so a believer must be more than a creature, viz., God-man, even Christ Jesus. For though, in a true union, the two terms may still remain the same, etc., as between husband and wife, he is a man still, and she a woman,

¹ Beyond doubt, Winthrop himself.

(for the union is only in sympathy and relation,) yet in a real or personal union it is not. Now, whether this were agreeable to the doctrine of the church or not, he left to the church to judge; hoping that the Lord would direct our teacher to clear these points fully, as he had well done, in good measure, already. Withal he made this request to the brother, (which he said he did seriously and affectionately,) that, seeing these variances grew (and some estrangement withal) from some words and phrases, which were of human invention, and tended to doubtful disputation, rather than to edification, and had no footing in scripture, nor had been in use in the purest churches for three hundred years after Christ, — that, for the peace of the church, etc., they might be forborn; (he meant, person of the Holy Ghost, and real union;) and concluded, that he did not intend to dispute the matter, (as not having place or calling thereunto then;) yet, if any brother desired to see what light he walked by, he would be ready to impart it to him. How this was taken by the congregation, did not appear, for no man spake to it.

“A day or two after, the same brother wrote his mind fully, with such scriptures and arguments as came to hand, and sent it to Mr. Cotton.”

These written arguments of Governor Winthrop's have not come down to us; and perhaps their loss will hardly be regretted. Another passage in his Journal, however, bearing date the 17th of November of the same year, gives a further insight into the views of the parties to this perplexed and perplexing controversy: —

“The governour, Mr. Vane, a wise and godly gentleman, held, with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the

Holy Ghost; but the deputy,¹ with the pastor and divers others, denied both; and the question proceeded so far by disputation, (in writing, for the peace sake of the church, which all were tender of,) as at length they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in scripture, nor in the primitive churches three hundred years after Christ. So that, all agreeing in the chief matter of substance, viz. that the Holy Ghost is God, and that he doth dwell in the believers, (as the Father and Son both are said also to do,) but whether by his gifts and power only, or by any other manner of presence, seeing the scripture doth not declare it,—it was earnestly desired, that the word person might be forborn, being a term of human invention, and tending to doubtful disputation in this case.”

It would be alike tedious and unprofitable to follow these religious differences further.² It would probably be in our days, as it certainly was in those,—the longer they were debated, the less the questions were understood, and the further they were from being settled. Perhaps it would turn out as Winthrop describes it to have done, after Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson had made their speeches, on another occasion: “No man could tell (except some few who knew the bottom of the matter) where any difference was.”³ “Every occasion,” says the Journal, “increased the contention, and caused great alienation of minds;” “and it began to be as common here to distinguish between men, by being under a Covenant of Grace or a Covenant of Works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists.”

¹ Winthrop himself was now the Deputy-Governor.

² An admirable sketch of the Antinomian controversy will be found in the *Life of Anne Hutchinson*, by Rev. G. E. Ellis, D.D., in *Sparks's Am. Biography*, 2d series, vol. vi.

³ Winthrop's *History of New England*, vol. i. p. 218.

Governor Winthrop was opposed to the views of Mrs. Hutchinson, and zealously united with those who were stigmatized as being under the Covenant of Works. But it may be interesting, and important to his character, to remember, that it was during the last months of this same year, 1636, and during the raging heat of this memorable Antinomian strife, that he wrote the later account of his "Christian Experience," from which we have already quoted some passages in our first volume,¹ and in which he seems to exult in magnifying the unworthiness of his own works and ways in early life, in order to signalize the triumph of free grace in his conversion.

In our next chapter we shall give the whole of this confession. Meantime, the Records of the Colony furnish us here with a fresh illustration of the diversified character of the Governor's occupations and responsibilities. In December of this year, "all military men in this jurisdiction" were ordered by the General Court to be ranked into three regiments; and Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth, and Hingham were to be one regiment. Of this first regiment of Massachusetts militia, John Winthrop was appointed colonel; and Thomas Dudley, lieutenant-colonel.²

We conclude this chapter with five letters from the Governor to his son John, who, as we shall see, is now designated as Governor of the plantation on the Connecticut River. These letters are only interesting as they give an impression of the condition of things

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. chaps. iv. and v.

² Records of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 186.

at that early period of the New-England Colonies. The second of them is here printed for the first time.¹

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. WINTHROP, Jun. Governour of Conecticott, d,

"SON, — I went to Ten Hills this morning, with your mother and your wife, to have seen goodman Bushnell; but the Lord had taken him away half an hour before we came there. So I made haste down to send you notice of it; but the ship was under sail before I came, which gives me no time to write further to you, for I must send the boat presently after her. You shall receive of Mr. Hodges the key of one of his chests, where the seeds are; the key of the other can't be found; so you must break it open. There is in one of them a rundlet of honey, which she desires may be sent to her against she lie down. She desires you to take an inventory of all he hath there. We are all in health, I praise God for it. Your two men you left sick, your wife and mother, and all of us, salute you and your good company. The Lord bless and prosper you. Farewell, my good son. ✓

"This 28 of the 1 mo. 1636."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very lovinge Sonne, Mr. WINTHROP, the Younger, Govern^r of Conectecott.

"SONNE, — I wrote unto you by the Rebecka of the death of Bushnell & sent the keye of his chest, that you might take out the seeds & inventory of his goods; & havinge this opportunity by M^r Adyers Pinace I thought good to certifie you how things are wth us heere, but I shall not need to write

¹ The others are taken from the Appendix to Winthrop's History of New England.

much because this bearer can inform you of the rest. Mr. Allerton is come here: but his Pinace neere spoyled, she laye 10: dayes upon a rock, & beate out all her kele: & being mended another storme came, & beate out all again: he is come home wthout provisions: so is Mr. Mayhew, who yet gate 6: hhds of Bread, but he was forced to take aboard 40^{lb} worth of trading Comodytes. The Indians have killed so many of their swine in these pts, that there is no pork to be had. We were at Dorchester last fryday at the gathering of the new Church there, but the partyes were most of them founde so weak as y^e ministers present aduised them not to ioyne till they were better fitted, w^{ch} they agreed unto. Yo^r wife & all o^{rs} are in healthe (I prayse God), they all salute you, but the cominge of this bearer is so suddaine as none could write: yo^r sicke ones begin to mende.

"So much in hast, wth my love & blessinge to you & salutations to all wth you, I comende you & yo^r affaires to the direction & blessinge of the Lord & rest

Yo^r lovinge father,

J: W:

"This 4: of the 2: mo: 1636.

"forgett not to send me some Saltpeter: for I thinke it hath saved one of o^r mens lives."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. WINTHROP, Jun. Governor of the new Plantation upon Connecticut, d'd.

"SON,—Blessed be the Lord, who hath preserved and prospered you hitherto.

"I received your letters by the Blessing,¹ which arrived here the 14 of this present, and is to return to you with Mr.

¹ A letter from John Winthrop, Jr., to his father, written after his arrival at the mouth of the Connecticut River, and to which this was probably the reply, will be found among the Winthrop Papers in vol. vi., 4th series, of the Mass. Hist. Collections, dated April 7, 1636.

Pincheon's goods, so soon as she can be laden. By her I shall (God willing) write to you of other things, which I may now omit. Your wife and all our family (I praise God) are in health. I think you will have no letter from her till the Blessing come. It hath been earnestly pressed to have her go to Virginia for Mr. Maverick and his corn; but I have no heart to it at this season, being so perilous both to the vessel, (for worms,) and especially the persons. I will never have any that belong to me come there, if I can avoid it; but Mr. Mayhew hath taken order the Rebecca shall go, if she can be met with.

"The Lord, in much mercy, sent us a ship the 12 of this present with provisions; but she had put in at Pascataqua, and sold much there; for she brought only thirty-nine hogsheads of meal, twenty-five of peas, eight of oatmeal, forty of malt, and some beef, and prunes, and aquavitæ, eighteen thousand of [unknown]. My brother Peter bought it all, and divided it among all the

[Here about sixteen lines are gone, the paper being torn.]

"Queen of Bohemia her eldest son is in England, and no speech of any stop of shipping hither, nor of the general governour, more than divers years before. This ship came in eight weeks from Dartmouth, and saith, there had not been an easterly wind in England fourteen weeks before.

"For home news,—the general court hath ordained a standing council for life, and quarterly courts to be kept at Ipswich, Salem, Newtown, and Boston; and four courts in the year at Boston, for greater causes, and for appeals. Mr. Allerton is returned, but had a very ill voyage. His bark lay ten days upon the rock, and beat out all her keel; and so, the second time, Mr. Mayhew and he could get but little provisions, and at extreme rates, but six hogsheads of bread, and few peas. I can get but one barrel of peas of Mr. Allerton, which I will send you. Some pork they brought, but so lean as I have not seen the like salted. The Indians

killed up all their swine, so as Capt. Lovell had none; but you shall have beef instead of it. I have sent to Ipswich for your cattle and your servant; for it will be great loss to keep them there. I will take the others from Mr. Mayhew so soon as grass is up.

[Sixteen more lines missing.]

"I sent you two letters lately, one by Mr. Hodges, and the other by Mr. Oldham, wherein I certified you of the death of goodman Bushnell, one whom you will miss above all the rest. I had him down to Boston, to do him what honor I could at his burial. Your carpenter and the other fellow (who, I think, truly fears God) are recovering, and, I hope, shall be able to come to you in the Blessing. I pray send me some saltpetre; for I suppose it was a means, through God's blessing, to save one of their lives, being far spent in a fever.

"I purpose to send you some milch goats and swine. The prunes I suppose you may sell such of them as you can't spend. The butt cost £10, and should weigh near one thousand pounds. The aquavitæ was put aboard by my brother Peter's order, without my appointment. It cost £22. What you will not spend of it, you may sell to the Dutch for profit enough.

"I sent you two letters by Mr. Tilly. Your brother Stephen

[A line and a half erased.]

was desirous to come to you. If you have any employment for him, you may keep him; otherwise you may return him back.

"This ship is bound for the Isle of Sable. If you will send the Blessing with her, she may be here time enough a month hence. But two things I fear: first, that here will be no men nor provisions to set her forth with: the second, that both of them will not be of sufficient strength against the French; for this ship hath not above fourteen men.

Neither would I send any of ours without taking leave of the French.

"I think the bark goeth away in the morning. Therefore I here end, with salutations to all our friends with you, Mr. Gardiner and his wife, etc. Your mother saluteth you; your wife writes. The Lord in mercy preserve, guide, prosper and bless you in all your ways. Farewell, my good son.

"Mr. Hooker and his company intend to set forth three weeks hence.

"This 26 of the 2 mo. 1636.¹

"This night we hear of a ship arrived at Pemaquid, and of twenty-four ships upon the seas, bound hither."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of the Plantation upon the mouth of the Conecticot, d'd.

"SON, — Mr. Hooker went hence upon Tuesday the last of May, by whom I wrote to you, and sent all your letters, with one from England, and all such news as came to hand; and with that company, viz. by Tho. Bull and a man of mine own, I sent six cows, four steers and a bull. I left it to James and Thomas Skidmore to send such as might be fittest both for travel and for your use. I now send this by the Rebecca, in which you shall find such provisions as are here expressed on the other side. Mr. Fenwick of Gray's Inn (one of those who employ you) hath written to you by Mr. Hooker, and intends, about a month hence, with my brother P.² to be with you. The gentlemen seem to be discouraged in the design here; but you shall know more when they come to you.

¹ A letter from John Winthrop, jr., to his father, written between the dates of this and the next letter, will be found in the Appendix to Winthrop's History of New England.

² Hugh Peters.

"I received a very loving letter from my Lord S.¹ wherein he expresseth a great deal of satisfaction in your proceedings; but saith withal, that those up the river have carved largely for themselves, which, he thinks, they will after repent, when they see what helps they have deprived themselves of. The ship, which went to Ireland for sheep, lost all her sheep, being five hundred, and so bare up when she was near this coast. Capt. Mason is dead; and thereupon all their designs against us are (through God's great mercy) fallen asleep. But of all these things you shall hear more fully when my other letters come to you. Here are come for you, from my sister Downing, divers chests of commodities, and many firkins of butter and suet, which I have bestowed, till I hear what you will have done with them. Here is a great glut of all provisions, so as they are not like to sell in haste.

"We had nine pieces of ordnance to the Rebecca her side; but all the means could be used could not get one into her. Sir Math. Boynton hath sent more cattle, and two servants. I intend to send his servants to Ipswich to provide for them against winter; for here is not hay to be had. His letters to you come by Mr. Hooker. Sir A. Hazlerig hath refused my brother P. his bills, which is great damage both to him and Mr. Endecott.

"I pray deliver this letter enclosed to John Friend, and if he pay you the money, deliver him his bill, (which is here also enclosed;) if not, I pray return it to me again.

"Here was an anvil, with a beak horn at the end of it, which I think was carried to Con^t. If it be, I pray send it back, for it is challenged.

"I paid Mr. Garsford of Salem £5 for a buff coat for Mr. Gardiner, which you must remember to put upon his account. Your Wampompeak I put off for £30, to be paid in England for the provisions I send you.

"Solling and his wife will come to you by the next, if he

¹ Lord Say and Sele.

hear not to the contrary. I know not what to write more on the sudden. I think your wife writes, but she is now at the Garden with my cousin¹ Mary. The Lord bless and prosper you. Your mother salutes you. Farewell.

"Provisions sent in the Rebecca.

"A hogshead of oatmeal.
 "Two hogsheads of meal £8.02
 "Five casks of peas 10.08
 "Seven barrels of beef 14.14
 "A hogshead of pork, which my brother P. puts in 14.07.7
 "A frail of figs, which I send to yourself, (in the barrel of raisins).
 "Two² kilderkins of butter, put in by Mr. Peirce for Serjeant Willes.
 "A barrell of raisins of the sun, (the figs are in the end that hath your mark in black lead,) about two cwt. at 45s. the cwt. which is about four pounds and a half.
 "Four barrels of meal.
 "A rundlet of sack, of [blank] gallons.
 "Biscuit in two great bags, at 30s. the cwt.
 "This 10 of the 4 mo. 1636."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very loving Son, Mr. WINTHROP, Governor of the new Plantation upon Connecticut, d'd.

"SON,—I wrote to you by Mr. Hooker, and sent you, withal, the letters out of England; and six cows, four steers, and one bull. I wrote since by Mr. Hodges in the Rebecca, and sent many provisions, as by my letter did appear; since which time the Wren came in, and one brought me your letter, but being very busy with divers friends, I desired

¹ He means his niece, daughter of his sister Downing.

² "I have paid for them £7.4.4, which he is to pay you."

him to come to me again at dinner; but I never heard of him since, nor of any other of that vessel, so as I know not what they intend to do with the clay you sent. The potter saith, that you sent formerly is very good. I shall take order with him about your store, etc. I have spoke with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Coddington for money, but can get none. I will send you what I have or can borrow by John Gallop, (£10,) and some wether goats. The Bachelor is to come to you next week with Mr. Peirce's goods, and the lighter, with some ordnance [in] Mr. Peirce his pinnace. Mr. Fenwick, my brother Peter, etc., set forth on horseback on the 27 of this month, and will expect your shallop at the upper towns to carry them down the river, and so will go in Mr. Peirce's pinnace to Long Island, Hudson's River, etc. I would have sent you some ship beer, but Mr. Fleming hath provided a butt brought in John Gallop. Goodwife B. is delivered of a daughter, and abroad again in a week. Your wife grows big, but as lively as any woman in the house, God be praised.

"I do not send you George, because they are speaking of putting off servants, etc. I suppose, when they come to you, they will consider of the widow Bushnell and of the other widows at Ten Hills, widow Briskowe, who hath been sick ever since you went abroad, and is a great burden to us.

"We hear that Scilla Nova is at the West Indies; but we hear nothing of the Pied Cow.

"I must end, with remembrance of mine own and your mother's love and blessing to you and to Stephen. Farewell, my good son.

"23 of the 4th mo. 1636.

"I send you two small sugar loaves by J. Gallop.

"Mr. W.'s debt is £310. I showed him his bill, with all the several sums, and of whom he received them. I have laid out, since you went, in provisions, etc., and for seamen's wages, near £200.

"John Gallop hath a pair of stockings for Stephen, and shoes and stockings for Hen. Smith.

"Sergeant Willes's two kilderkins of B. cost 7.4.4, at 7*d.* the pound. If you have more peas and beef than you need, you may send back some.

"If you write into England, send your letters by the first return, and I shall convey them.

"I have taken order with Mr. Coggeshall for Mr. Oldham, etc."

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF HIS MATURER YEARS, WRITTEN ON
HIS FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY, 1636-7.

IN our former volume, we have given, in the order of date, almost every thing which could be deciphered in the little autograph record of religious experiences which has so recently been discovered among the old papers of Governor Winthrop.¹ That record begins with the year 1602, and is mainly taken up with the incidents and impressions of the eighteen succeeding years. After the date of 1620, the entries are but few and brief; and the book, of which only three or four blank pages remained, seems then to have been laid aside. We have found the Governor recurring to it, however, in 1628, to record his gratitude to God on his recovery from a serious illness; and again, both in 1628 and in 1629, to note the providential escape of his children or himself from some casual dangers which they had encountered. And now, in this memorable year 1636, we find him turning once more, and for the last time, to the same little volume, in order to give expression to some of the emotions which had been excited in his bosom by the religious

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. chaps. iv., v., vi.

contentions which were convulsing the Colony, and in which he was called upon to take so leading a part. Here is the entry, bearing date, December, 1636:—

"1636, 10ber.] Upon some differences in o^r Church about the waye of the Spirit of God in the worke of Justif: myse^lfe dissentinge from the reste of the brethren, I had occasion to examine mine owne estate, wherein the Lord wrought marveylously upon my heart, revivinge my former peace & consolatiō wth muche increase & better assurance then formerly; & in the midst of it (for it continued many dayes) he did one tyme darte a beame of wrathe into my soule, w^{ch} strucke me to the heart, but then the Lord Jesus shewed himselfe & stood betweene that wrathe & my soule. Oh how sweet was Chr^t then to my soule. I thought I never prized him before, I am sure never more, nor ever felt more need of him. Then I kept him close to my heart & could not parte wth him. Oh how my heart opened to let him in. Oh how was I ravished wth his love! my prayers could breathe nothinge but Christ & Love & mercye, w^{ch} continued with meltinge & teares night & daye."

It may be presumed that Governor Winthrop did not take up this little book, after so long an interval, to make his only entry in it in his new American home, without looking back to its earlier pages, and reviewing the various fortunes which he had experienced during the four and thirty years which had elapsed since he first opened the account. It may, perhaps, have been the impression produced by such a review, which prompted him to prepare so deliberately, and so soon afterwards, the paper which will form the principal feature of our present chapter, and which seems like a solemn summing-up of the emotions and experiences which had previously been re-

corded in detail. It is the religious Confession of his maturer years; or, as it is entitled on the cover of the copy from which it is now for the first time printed, "Governor John Winthrop's (the Elder) Christian Experience." It is dated on the day on which he entered his fiftieth year; or, as he himself styles it, "in the 49th yeare of my age just compleat." And certainly a freer and fuller and nobler confession, in the sight of God and man, has rarely, if ever, borne the birthday signature of one occupying so considerable a place in history. He was then resting between two prolonged and arduous terms of the chief magistracy of an important and rising Commonwealth; and he thought it no scorn to employ a part of his comparative leisure in humbling himself before his Maker, and in magnifying the mercies which had enabled him to overcome the temptations by which his earlier years had been grievously vexed and tried. It was prepared, too, as we have seen, at the height of those intense theological controversies which were rending the community in which he lived: and most happy would it have been, if all the religious papers to which those controversies gave occasion, had, like this one, exhibited severity towards no one except their own writers; if all the reproaches had been only self-reproaches, and all the accusations only self-accusations.

Governor Winthrop did not spare himself, certainly, in this self-examination. It was justly and beautifully said of it by another,¹ "By those who do not know,

¹ Mr. Bancroft, the historian of the United States, in a note to myself on the subject of the copy which he had furnished the Rev. J. B. Felt, LL.D., to whom I was originally indebted for it.

that, in good Puritan times, a thought amiss was mourned over as a defilement, and love of play as lewdness, wrong judgment would be formed of the singularly pure character which the very excess of self-reproach sets off with new lustre." We might apply to it also what the late Lord Macaulay has so well said of John Bunyan, in his review of Southey's edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress:" "By most of his biographers, he has been treated with gross injustice. They have understood in a popular sense all those strong terms of self-condemnation which he employed in a theological sense. They have therefore represented him as an abandoned wretch, reclaimed by means almost miraculous; or, to use their favorite metaphor, 'as a brand plucked from the burning.' Surely Mr. Ivimey ought to have been too familiar with the bitter accusations which the most pious people are in the habit of bringing against themselves, to understand literally all the strong expressions which are to be found in the 'Grace Abounding.'"¹

But this "Christian Experience" will speak for itself; and if, by any chance or in any quarter, it should be construed into an evidence of a more than common delinquency or depravity in childhood, it cannot fail to be accepted also as an evidence of a more than common virtue and piety in manhood. There is nothing to indicate whether it was made public in any way at the time it was written. There is no allusion to it in the Governor's Journal or History, unless it

¹ Edinburgh Review, December, 1830.

be in the statement, about the same period, that one of the brethren "bore witness to the truth."¹ But, if it did receive any general circulation in the Church or in the Colony, it must surely have saved its author from any further suspicion of being inclined to disparage the doctrine of Free Grace.

It is to be regretted that the original of this paper has thus far eluded the most diligent search. We have every satisfaction, however, which can be derived from the comparison of two independent copies of widely different dates. The original was undoubtedly in the hands of Governor Trumbull when he communicated it to President Stiles of Yale College, in a letter dated Lebanon, 14th June, 1783, commencing as follows: "Reverend sir, Governor Winthrop's relation of his 'Christian Experience' is enclosed,—a gentleman eminent for piety, who, being gone to the enjoyment of God and our Redeemer, yet speaketh." One of our copies was the result of this communication.² A second and more ancient copy has recently been obtained through the kindness of the late Miss Elizabeth Belknap, daughter of the admirable Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the principal founder and constant benefactor of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This copy is in the clear and careful handwriting of Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College. President Dunster's wife was Mrs. Elizabeth Glover, widow of that Rev. José Glover who embarked for

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i. p. 212.

² I cannot help thinking that the original may be in the archives of Yale College, New Haven, though I have inquired for it in vain.

New England in 1639, with the implements for establishing the first printing-office in America, but who died on the passage, leaving the enterprise to be carried on by Mr. Stephen Daye. Two of Mrs. Glover's daughters by her first husband were the wives of Adam and Deane Winthrop, sons of Governor Winthrop; and the "Christian Experience" of their father must thus have come to President Dunster in the most authentic shape. The neatness of his copy, in a book containing many other valuable writings, attests the interest which he attached to it; and it differs from the other copy in our possession only in adhering more strictly to the old style of spelling and abbreviations. We are thus enabled to furnish the paper, with the fullest confidence of its exact conformity to the original; and we leave it to our readers without further comment. Some of them may, perhaps, remember that we have already used a few of its opening paragraphs, to illustrate the Governor's early life, in our first volume.

"Governor John Winthrop's (the elder) Christian Experience.

"In my youth I was very lewdly disposed, inclining unto & attempting (so far as my yeares enabled mee) all kind of wickednesse, except swearing & scorning religion, which I had no temptation unto in regard of my education. About ten years of age, I had some notions of God, for in some great frightening or danger, I have prayed unto God, & found manifest answer; the remembrance whereof many years after, made mee think that God did love mee, but it made mee no whit the better: After I was 12 yeares old, I began to

have some more savor of Religion, & I thought I had more understanding in Divinity than many of my yeares; for in reading of some good books, I conceived, that I did know divers of those points before, though I knew not how I should come by such knowledge, (but since I perceived it was out of some logicall principles, whereby out of some things I could conclude others,) yet I was still very wild, & dissolute, & as years came on, my lusts grew stronger, but yet under some restraint of my naturall reason; whereby I had the command of myself, that I could turne into any form. I would, as occasion required, write letters etc. of meer vanity; & if occasion were, I could write others of savoury & Godly counsell.

"About fourteen years of age, being in Cambridge, I fell into a lingering feaver, which took away the comfort of my life. For being there neglected & despised, I went up & down mourning with myself; & being deprived of my youthfull joys, I betook myself to God, whom I did believe to bee very good & mercifull, & would welcome any that would come to him, especially such a young soule, & so well qualified as I took myself to bee; so as I took pleasure in drawing near to him. But how my heart was affected with my sins, or what thoughts I had of Christ, I remember not. But I was willing to love God, & therefore I thought hee loved mee. But so soon as I recovered my perfect health, & met with somewhat else to take pleasure in, I forgot my former acquaintance with God, and fell to former lusts, & grew worse than before. Yet some good moodes I had now & then, & sad checks of my natural Conscience, by which the Lord preserved mee from some foule sins, which otherwise I had fallen into. But my lusts were so masterly as no good could fasten upon mee, otherwise than to hold me to some task of ordinary duties, for I cared for nothing but how to satisfy my voluptuous heart.

"About 18 years of age, (being a man in stature, & understanding as my parents conceived me) I married into a

family under Mr. Culverwell his ministry in Essex; & living there sometimes I first found the ministry of the Word to come home to my heart with power, (for in all before I found only light) & after that I found the like in the ministry of many others. So as there began to be some change which I perceived in myself, & others took notice of. Now I began to come under strong exercises of conscience, (yet by fits only). I could no longer dally with religion. God put my soule to sad tasks sometimes, which yet the flesh would shake off, & outwear still. I had withal many sweet invitations, which I would willingly have entertained, but the flesh would not give up her interest. The merciful Lord would not thus bee answered, but notwithstanding all my stubbornnesse & unkind rejections of mercy, hee left me not till he had overcome my heart to give up itself to him, & to bid farewell to all the world, & until my heart could answer, 'Lord! what wilt thou have mee doe?'

"Now came I to some peace & comfort in God & in his wayes, my chief delight was therein. I loved a Christian & the very ground hee went upon. I honoured a faythful minister in my heart & could have kissed his feet: Now I grew full of zeal (which outranne my knowledge & carried mee sometimes beyond my calling), & very liberall to any good work. I had an unsatiable thirst after the word of God & could not misse a good sermon, though many miles off, especially of such as did search deep into the conscience. I had also a great striving in my heart to draw others to God. It pitied my heart to see men so little to regard their soules, & to despise that happiness which I knew to be better than all the world besides, which stirred mee up to take any opportunity to draw men to God, & by successe in my endeavours I took much encouragement hereunto. But these affections were not constant, but very unsettled. By these occasions I grew to bee of some note for religion (which did not a little puff mee up) & divers would come to mee for advice in cases of conscience; — & if I heard of any that were

in trouble of mind I usually went to comfort them; so that upon the bent of my spirit this way & the success I found of my endeavours, I gave up myself to the study of Divinity, & intended to enter into the ministry, if my friends had not diverted me.

"But as I grew into employment & credit thereby; so I grew also in pride of my gifts, & under temptations which sett mee on work to look to my evidence more narrowly than I had done before (for the great change which God had wrought in mee, & the generall approbation of good ministers & other Christians, kept me from making any great question of my good estate,) though my secret corruptions, & some tremblings of heart (which was greatest when I was among the most godly persons) put me to some plunges; but especially when I perceived a great decay in my zeal & love, &c. And hearing sometimes of better assurance by the seale of the Spirit, which I also knew by the word of God, but could not, nor durst say that ever I had it; & finding by reading of Mr. Perkin's¹ & other books, that a reprobate might (in appearance) attaine to as much as I had done; finding withal much hollowness & vaine glory in my heart, I began to grow very sad, & knew not what to do: I was ashamed to open my case to any minister that knew mee; I feared it would shame myself & religion also, that such an eminent professor as I was accounted, should discover such corruptions as I found in myself; & had in all this time attained no better evidence of salvation; & [if] I should prove a hypocrite, it was too late to begin anew: I should never repent in truth; having repented so oft as I had done. It was like Hell to mee to think of that in Hebr. 6.² Yet I should

¹ William Perkins, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was one of the great theological writers of his day. He was a strict Calvinist, and his controversy with Arminius is said to have occasioned the calling of the Synod of Dort. He died in 1602, and his writings were published in three folio volumes.

² Doubtless the passage referred to is the following: "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers

sometimes propound questions afarre off to such of the most Godly ministers as I mett, which gave mee ease for the present, but my heart could not find where to rest; but I grew very sad & melancholy; & now to hear others applaud mee, was a dart through my liver; for still I feared I was not sound at the root, and sometimes I had thoughts of breaking from my profession, & proclaim^e myself an hypocrite. But these troubles came not all at once but by fits, for sometimes I should find refreshing in prayer, & sometimes in the love that I had had to the Saints: which though it were but poor comfort (for I durst not say before the Lord that I did love them in truth), yet the Lord upheld mee, and many times outward occasions put these fears out of my thoughts. And though I had knowne long before, the Doctrine of free Justification by Christ, & had often urged it upon my owne soul & others, yet I could not close with Christ to my satisfaction. — I have many times striven to lay hold upon Christ in some promise, & have brought forth all the arguments that I had for my part in it. But instead of finding it to bee mine, I have lost sometimes the faith of the very general truth of the promise, sometimes after much striving by prayer for faith in Christ, I have thought I had received some power to apply Christ unto my soul: but it was so doubtfull as I could have little comfort in it, & it soon vanished.

“Upon these & the like troubles, when I could by no means attaine sure & settled peace; & that which I did get was still broken off upon every infirmity; I concluded there was no way to help it, but by walking more close with God and more strict observation of all duties; & hereby though I put myself to many a needless task, & deprived myself of many lawful comforts, yet my peace would fayle upon every small occasion, & I was held long under great bondage to the

of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.” — Heb. vi. 4-6.

Law (sin, & humble myself; & sin, & to humiliation again, & so day after day) yet neither got strength to my Sanctification, nor bettered my evidence, but was brought to such bondage, as I durst not use any recreation, nor meddle with any worldly business &c.; for fear of breaking my peace (which even such as it was, was very precious to mee) but this would not hold neither, for then I grew very melancholy & mine own thoughts wearied mee, & wasted my spirits.

"While I wandered up & downe in this sad & doubtful estate (wherein yet I had many intermissions, for the flesh would often shake off this yoake of the Law, but was still forced to come under it again) wherein my greatest troubles were not the sense of God's wrath or fear of damnation, but want of assurance of salvation, & want of strength against my corruptions; I knew that my greatest want was fayth in Christ, & faine would I have been united to Christ, but I thought I was not holy enough; I had many times comfortable thoughts about him in the word, prayer, & meditation, but they gave mee no satisfaction, but brought mee lower in mine own eyes, & held me still to a constant use of all means, in hope of better things to come. Sometimes I was very confident that hee had given mee a hungering & thirsting soul after Christ, & therefore would surely satisfy mee in his good time. Sometimes again I was ready to entertain secret murmurings, that all my pains & prayers etc. should prevail no more; but such thoughts were soon rebuked: I found my heart still willing to justify God. Yea, I was persuaded I should love him, though he should cast mee off.

"Being in this condition it pleased the Lord in my family exercise to manifest unto mee the difference between the covenant of Grace, & the Covenant of works (but I took the foundation of that of works to have been with man in innocency, & onely held forth in the laws of Moses to drive us to Christ). This covenant of Grace began to take great impression in mee, & I thought I had now enough: To have Christ freely, & to be justified freely was very sweet

to mee; & upon sound warrant (as I conceived) but I would not say with any confidence, it had been sealed to me, but I rather took occasion to be more remisse in my spiritual watch, & so more loose in my conversation.

"I was now about 30 yrs of age, & now was the time come that the Lord would reveale Christ unto mee, whom I had long desired, but not so earnestly as since I came to see more clearly into the covenant of free grace. First therefore hee laid a sore affliction upon me wherein he laid me lower in myne own eyes than at any time before, & showed mee the emptiness of all my guifts & parts; left mee neither power nor will, so as I became as a weaned child.¹ I could now no more look at what I had been or what I had done, nor be discontented for want of strength or assurance, mine eyes were only upon his free mercy in Jesus Christ. I knew I was worthy of nothing, for I knew I could do nothing for him or for myself. I could only mourn, & weep to think of free mercy to such a vile wretch as I was. Though I had no power to apply it yet I felt comfort in it. I did not long continue in this estate, but the good spirit of the Lord breathed upon my soule, & said I should live. Then every promise I thought upon held forth Christ unto me, saying, I am thy salvation. Now could my soul close with Christ, & rest there with sweet content, so ravished with his love, as I desired nothing, nor feared anything, but was filled with joy unspeakable & glorious, & with a spirit of adoption. Not that I could pray with more fervency or more enlargement of heart than sometimes before, but I could now cry, My Father, with more confidence. Meethought this condition & that frame of heart which I had after, was in respect of the former like the reign of Solomon, free, peaceable, prosperous, & glorious; the other, more like that of Ahaz, full of troubles, fears & abasements. And the more I

¹ For some account of the afflictions which befell the Governor when he was "about 30 yrs of age," see first volume of the *Life and Letters*, pp. 76, 77.

grew thus acquainted with the spirit of God, the more were my corruptions mortified & the new man quickened. The world, the flesh, & Satan, were for a time silent, I heard not of them: but they would not leave mee so. This Estate lasted a good time, (divers months,) but not always alike, but if my comfort & joy slackened awhile, yet my peace continued, & it would returne with advantage. I was now growne familiar with the Lord Jesus Christ, he would oft tell mee he loved mee. I did not doubt to believe him. If I went abroad, he went with me, when I returned, he came home with mee. I talked with him upon the way, he lay down with me, & usually I did awake with him. Now I could go into any company & not lose him: &, so sweet was his love to me, as I desired nothing but him in Heaven or Earth.

"This Estate would not hold, neither did it decline suddenly, but by degrees. And though I found much spiritual strength in it, yet I could not discern but my hunger after the Word of God, & my love to the Saints had been as great (if not more) in former times. One reason might bee this, I found that the many blemishes & much hollow-heartednesse which I discerned in many professors, had weakened the esteem of a Christian in my heart. And for my comfort in Christ, as worldly employments, & the love of temporal things did steal away my heart from him, so would his sweet countenance be withdrawn from mee. But in such a condition he would not long leave me, but would still recall me by some word or affliction, or in prayer or meditation, & I should then bee as a man awakened out of a dreame, or as if I had been another man. And then my care was (not so much to get pardon, for that was sometimes sealed to me, while I was purposing to goe seek it, & yet sometimes I could not obtain it without seeking & waiting also but) to mourn for my ingratitude towards my God, & his free & rich mercy. The consideration whereof would break my heart more, & wring more tears from mine eyes, than ever the

fear of damnation or any affliction had done; so as many times & to this very day, a thought of Christ Jesus, & free grace bestowed on me, melts my heart that I cannot refrain.

"Since this time, I have gone under continuall conflicts between the flesh & the Spirit, & sometimes with Satan himself, (which I have more discerned of late than I did formerly); many falls I have had, & have lyen long under some, yet never quite forsaken of the Lord. But still when I have been put to it by any suddaine danger or fearful temptation, the good spirit of the Lord hath not fayled to beare witnesse to mee, giving mee comfort, & courage in the very pinch, when of myself I have been very fearfull, & dismayed. My usual falls have been through deadheartedness, & presumptuousnesse, by which Satan hath taken advantage to wind me into other sins. When the flesh prevayles the spirit withdraws, & is sometimes so grieved as he seems not to acknowledge his own work. Yet in my worst times he hath been pleased to stirre, when he would not speak, & would yet support me, that my faith hath not failed utterly.

"The Doctrine of free justification, lately taught here, took me in as drowsy a condition, as I had been in (to my remembrance) these twenty years, & brought me as low (in my own apprehension) as if the whole work had been to begin anew. But when the voice of Peace came, I knew it to be the same that I had been acquainted with before, though it did not speak so loud nor in that measure of joy that I had felt sometimes. Only this I found, that I had defiled the white garments of the Lord Jesus. That of justification in undervaluing the riches of the Lord Jesus Christ & his free grace, & setting up Idols in mine own heart, some of them made of his silver, & of his gold; & that other garment of sanctification by many foul spots which God's people might take notice of, & yet the inward spots were fouler than those.

"The Lord Jesus who (of his own free grace) hath washed my soul in the blood of the everlasting covenant, wash away all those spots also in his good time.

"Amen, even so doe, Lord Jesus.

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"The 12th of the 11th month, 1636.

in the 49th year of my age just compleat."

CHAPTER XII.

WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR AFTER A VIOLENT STRUGGLE.
CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS WIFE. CONTROVERSY BETWEEN
VANE AND WINTHROP ABOUT TOLERATION. THE YOUNG
LORD LEIGH. VANE'S DEPARTURE. WINTHROP'S LETTERS TO
GOVERNOR BRADFORD ABOUT THE PEQUOT WAR.

THE religious rancors of this period entered deeply into politics, and the Commonwealth was the scene of an excitement quite equal to that which agitated the church. Town and country were arrayed against each other in the strife. Governor Vane and the Hutchinsonians were warmly sustained by Boston; while Winthrop, though a Boston man, was obliged to look to the country towns for his main sympathy and support. It would seem, from the sequel, that he did not look in vain.

At the General Court in March, 1636-7, the contentions ran so high, that although it had been declared four years previously, by general consent, that "Boston is the fittest place for publique meetings of any place in the Bay,"¹ it was now determined that the next court should not be held there. Accordingly, on the 17th of May, 1637, the Court of Elections was held at Newtown, where events occurred which we must allow Winthrop to describe in his own words:—

¹ Records of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 101.

"Our court of Elections was at Newtown. So soon as the court was set, being about one of the clock, a petition was preferred by those of Boston. The governour [Vane] would have read it, but the deputy [Winthrop] said it was out of order; it was a court for elections, and those must first be despatched, and then their petitions should be heard. Divers others also opposed that course, as an ill precedent, etc.; and the petition, being about pretence of liberty, etc., (though intended chiefly for revoking the sentence given against Mr. Wheelwright,) would have spent all the day in debate, etc.; but yet the governour and those of that party would not proceed to election, except the petition was read. Much time was already spent about this debate, and the people crying out for election, it was moved by the deputy, that the people should divide themselves, and the greater number must carry it. And so it was done, and the greater number by many were for election. But the governour [Vane] and that side kept their place still, and would not proceed. Whereupon the deputy [Winthrop] told him, that, if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed. Upon that, he came from his company, and they went to election; and Mr. Winthrop was chosen governour, Mr. Dudley deputy, and Mr. Endecott of the standing council; and Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall were called in to be assistants; and Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Dummer, (being all of that faction,) were left quite out.

"There was great danger of a tumult that day; for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others; but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet. They expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy; but it fell out, that there were enough beside. But if it had been otherwise, they must have put in their deputies, as other towns had done, for all matters beside elections. Boston, having deferred to choose deputies till the election was passed,

went home that night, and the next morning they sent Mr. Vane, the late governour, and Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Hoffe, for their deputies; but the court, being grieved at it, found a means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had not notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the same gentlemen again upon a new choice; and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted."

Thus, after an interval of three years, during which Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, and Henry Vane, had successively presided over the Colony, John Winthrop was once more, and for a fifth term, called to the helm. The little bark was tossing upon troubled waters, and needed a steady and experienced hand to keep her on a safe track. The change of administration, as we have seen, was not made without a struggle. The excitement on the occasion may be inferred from the lively anecdote of the Rev. John Wilson, which Governor Hutchinson has given us in a note to his History of Massachusetts, and which he took from a manuscript life of Wilson himself:¹—

"Mr. Wilson, the Minister, in his zeal gat up on the bough of a tree (it was hot weather, and the election like that of Parliament men for the Counties in England was carried on in the field) and there made a Speech, advising the people to look to their Charter, and to consider the present work of the day, which was designed for the choosing of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and the rest of the Assistants for the Government of the Commonwealth. His Speech was well received by the people, who presently called out 'election, election,' which turned the scale."

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., vol. i. p. 62, *note*.

It would thus seem that the first *stump*-speech of which we have any authentic account in this country was made in New England, and by a clergyman!

But the excitement did not end, it appears, with the election; and Governor Winthrop would seem not to have met with all the courtesy and respect on this occasion to which he was entitled according to the laws or customs of the Colony. His Journal proceeds as follows:—

“Upon the election of the new governour, the serjeants, who had attended the old governour to the court, (being all Boston men, where the new governour also dwelt,) laid down their halberds and went home; and whereas they had been wont to attend the former governour to and from the meetings on the Lord’s days, they gave over now, so as the new governour was fain to use his own servants to carry two halberds before him; whereas the former governour had never less than four.”

Doubtless it was during these political agitations, in which her husband was so deeply involved, that the true-hearted Margaret Winthrop wrote the following characteristic and consoling letter:—

Margaret Winthrop to her Husband.

“DEAR IN MY THOUGHTS,—I blush to think how much I have neglected the opportunity of presenting my love to you. Sad thoughts possess my spirits, and I cannot repulse them; which makes me unfit for any thing, wondering what the Lord means by all these troubles among us. Sure I am, that all shall work to the best to them that love God, or rather are loved of him. I know he will bring light out of obscurity, and make his righteousness shine forth as clear as the

noon day. Yet I find in myself an adverse spirit, and a trembling heart, not so willing to submit to the will of God as I desire. There is a time to plant, and a time to pull up that which is planted, which I could desire might not be yet. But the Lord knoweth what is best, and his will be done. But I will write no more. Hoping to see thee to-morrow, my best affections being commended to yourself, [and] the rest of our friends at Newton, I commit thee to God.

"Your loving wife,

"MARGARET WINTHROP.

"*Sad Boston, 1637.*"

And here, among the newly discovered family papers, is evidently the answer to it:—

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"for Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

"DEARE [*torn*],—I am still detayned from thee, but it is by the Lord, who hath a greater interest in me than thy selfe, when his worke is donne he will restore me to thee againe to or mutuall comfort: Amen. I thanke thee for thy sweet Lre: my heart was wth thee to have written to thee everye daye, but businesse would not permitt me. I suppose thou hearest much newes from hence: it may be, some grievous to thee: but be not troubled, I assure thee thinges goe well, & they must needs doe so, for God is wth us & thou shalt see a happy issue. I hope to be wth thee to morrowe & a frende or 2: I suppose. So I kisse my sweet wife & rest

"Thine

"JO: WINTHROP.

"This 6: daye."

These simultaneous contentions in Church and State led naturally to a great deal of personal bitterness and estrangement, as well as to a great deal of open and public controversy. They led also to some

legislation by the General Court, which has been the subject of much reproach and condemnation by those who were not in a condition to appreciate the circumstances which gave occasion to it. The following passages from the Governor's Journal, bearing date May 24, 1637, give a striking picture of the period, and contain some account of a memorable Order of Court which was at once the consequence of past distractions and the cause of fresh ones:—

"The former governour [Vane] and Mr. Coddington, being discontented that the people had left them out of all public service, gave further proof of it in the congregation; for they refused to sit in the magistrate's seat, (where Mr. Vane had always sitten from his first arrival,) and went and sate with the deacons, although the governour sent to desire them to come in to him. And upon the day of the general fast, they went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount with Mr. Wheelwright.

"Another occasion of their discontent, and of the rest of that party, was an order, which the court had made, to keep out all such persons as might be dangerous to the commonwealth, by imposing a penalty upon all such as should retain any, etc., above three weeks, which should not be allowed by some of the magistrates; for it was very probable, that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England from Mr. Brierly his church, etc.

"This order, and other differences between the new governour and them, was the cause, that, at his return to Boston, none of them met him; and the serjeants, which had constantly attended the former governour to all public meetings with four halberds, did now refuse to do any such office to the new, alleging that they had done it to the former voluntarily, in respect of his person, not his place. To which it was answered, that there was a double error; 1. Because

the place drowns the person, be he honorable or base; 2. In that any compliment of honor, being once conferred upon an office, (though voluntarily,) cannot after be taken away without contempt and injury. The country, taking notice of this, offered to send in some from the neighboring towns to carry the halberds by course; and upon that the town of Boston offered to send some men, but not the serjeants; but the governour chose rather to make use of two of his own servants."

Winthrop's popularity in the country seems rather to have been increased by these demonstrations of unkindness in Boston,—if they were intended as such,—as we see by the account of his journey to Ipswich a few weeks afterwards. Of this visit, the Journal, under date of June 23, furnishes the following brief notice:—

"The governour went to Sagus, and so to Salem and to Ipswich, at all which places the men of the towns met him, and guarded him from town to town, (though not desired nor expected by him,) to show their respect to their governour, and also for his safety, in regard it was reported the Pequods were come this way. He returned again the 28th, being forced to travel all the night by reason of the heat, which was so extreme, as divers of those who were new come on shore, died in their travel a few miles."

Governor Hutchinson remarks, in this connection, that "Mr. Winthrop, however firm and resolute in the execution of his office, and steady to his principles, yet in private life behaved with much moderation. He was obliging and condescending to all, and by this means in a short time recovered their affections, and was in greater esteem than ever."¹

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass., vol. i. p. 64.

Winthrop felt called upon, however, to vindicate the Order of Court which had given such offence, and which had subjected his party and himself to so much censure. He accordingly prepared and published a formal argument in its defence; which is here given at full length, both as containing a distinct explanation of the subject in dispute, and as furnishing a good illustration of the Governor's controversial style and method:—

"A Defence of an Order of Court made in the Year 1637.

"A Declaration of the Intent and Equitye of the Order made at the last Court, to this effect, that none should be received to inhabite within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates.

"For clearing of such scruples as have arisen about this order, it is to be considered, first, what is the essentiall forme of a common weale or body politic such as this is, which I conceive to be this—The consent of a certaine companie of people, to cohabite together, under one government for their mutual safety and welfare.

"In this description all these things doe concur to the well being of such a body, 1 Persons, 2 Place, 3 Consent, 4 Government or Order, 5 Wellfare.

"It is clearely agreed, by all, that the care of safety and welfare was the original cause or occasion of common weales and of many families subjecting themselves to rulers and laws; for no man hath lawfull power over another, but by birth or consent, so likewise, by the law of proprietye, no man can have just interest in that which belongeth to another, without his consent.

"From the premises will arise these conclusions.

"1. No common weale can be founded but by free consent.

"2. The persons so incorporating have a public and rela-

tive interest each in other, and in the place of their cohabitation and goods, and laws, &c. and in all the means of their welfare so as none other can claime priviledge with them but by free consent.

"3. The nature of such an incorporation tyés every member thereof to seeke out and entertaine all means that may conduce to the wellfare of the bodye, and to keepe off whatsoever doth appeare to tend to their damage.

"4. The wellfare of the whole is [not?] to be put to apparent hazard for the advantage of any particular members.

"From these conclusions I thus reason.

"1. If we heere be a corporation established by free consent, if the place of our cohabitation be our owne, then no man hath right to come into us &c. without our consent.

"2. If no man hath right to our lands, our government, priviledges, &c. but by our consent, then it is reason we should take notice of them before we conferre any such upon them.

"3. If we are bound to keepe off whatsoever appears to tend to our ruine or damage, then may we lawfully refuse to receive such whose dispositions suite not with ours and whose society (we know) will be hurtfull to us, and therefore it is lawfull to take knowledge of all men before we receive them.

"4. The churches take liberty (as lawfully they may) to receive or reject at their discretion; yea particular towns make orders to the like effect; why then should the common weale be denied the like liberty and the whole more restrained than any parte?

"5. If it be sinne in us to deny some men place &c. among us, then it is because of some right they have to this place &c. for to deny a man that which he hath no right unto is neither sinne nor injury.

"6. If strangers have right to our houses or lands, &c. then it is either of justice or of mercye; if of justice let them plead it, and we shall know what to answer: but if it be only in way of mercye, or by the rule of hospitality, &c.

then I answer 1st, A man is not a fit object of mercye except he be in miserye. 2d, We are not bound to exercise mercye to others to the ruine of ourselves. 3d, There are few that stand in neede of mercye at their first coming hither. As for hospitality, that rule doth not bind further than for some present occasion, not for continual residence.

"7. A family is a little common wealth, and a common wealth is a greate family. Now as a family is not bound to entertaine all comers, no not every good man (otherwise than by way of hospitality), no more is a common wealth.

"8. It is a generall received rule, *turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes*, it is worse to receive a man whom we must cast out againe, than to denye him admittance.

"9. The rule of the Apostle, John 2. 10. is, that such as come and bring not the true doctrine with them should not be received to house, and by the same reason not into the common weale.

"10. Seeing it must be granted that there may come such persons (suppose Jesuits, &c.) which by consent of all ought to be rejected, it will follow that this law (being only for notice to be taken of all that come to us, without which we cannot avoyd such as indeed are to be kept out) is no other but just and needfull, and if any should be rejected that ought to be received, that is not to be imputed to the law, but to those who are betrusted with the execution of it. And herein is to be considered, what the intent of the law is, and by consequence, by what rule they are to walke, who are betrusted with the keeping of it. The intent of the law is to preserve the wellfare of the body; and for this ende to have none received into any fellowship with it who are likely to disturbe the same, and this intent (I am sure) is lawful and good. Now then, if such to whom the keeping of this law is committed, be persuaded in their judgments that such a man is likely to disturbe and hinder the publick weale, but some others, who are not in the same trust, judge otherwise, yet they are to follow their owne judgments, rather

then the judgments of others who are not alike interested: As in tryall of an offender by a jury; the twelve men are satisfied in their consciences, upon the evidence given, that the party deserves death: but there are 20 or 40 standers by who conceive otherwise, yet is the jury bound to condemn him according to their owne consciences, and not to acquit him upon the different opinion of other men, except their reasons can convince them of the error of their consciences, and this is according to the rule of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 5. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mynde.

"If it be objected, that some prophane persons are received and others who are religious are rejected, I answer 1st, It is not knowne that any such thinge hath as yet fallen out. 2. Such a practice may be justifiable as the case may be, for younger persons (even prophane ones) may be of lesse danger to the common weale (and to the churches also) than some older persons, though professors of religion: for our Saviour Christ when he conversed with publicans, &c. sayth that such were nearer the kingdom of heaven than the religious pharisees, and one that is of large parts and confirmed in some erronious way, is likely to doe more harme to church and common weale, and is of lesse hope to be reclaymed then 10 prophane persons, who have not yet beene hardened, in the contempt of the meanes of grace.

"Lastly, Whereas it is objected that by this law, we reject good christians and so consequently Christ himselfe: I answer 1st, It is not knowne that any christian man hath beene rejected. 2, A man that is a true christian, may be denyed residence among us, in some cases, without rejecting Christ; as admitt a true christian should come over, and should maintaine community of goods, or that magistrates ought not to punish the breakers of the first table, or the members of churches for criminal offences: or that no man were bound to be subject to those lawes or magistrates to which they should not give an explicite consent, &c. I hope no man

will say, that not to receive such an one, were to reject Christ; for such opinions (though being maintained in simple ignorance, they might stand with a state of grace yet) they may be so dangerous to the publick weale in many respects, as it would be our sinne and unfaithfullness to receive such among us, except it were for tryall of their reformation. I would demand then in the case in question (for it is bootlesse curiosity to refrayne openesse in things publick) whereas it is sayd that this law was made of purpose to keepe away such as are of Mr. Wheelwright his judgment (admitt it were so which yet I cannot confesse) where is the evill of it? If we conceive and finde by sadd experience that his opinions are such, as by his own profession cannot stand with externall peace, may we not provide for our peace, by keeping off such as would strengthen him, and infect others with such dangerous tenets? and if we finde his opinions such as will cause divisions, and make people looke at their magistrates, ministers and brethren as enemies to Christ; and Antichrists, &c. were it not sinne and unfaithfullness in us, to receive more of those opinions, which we allready finde the evill fruite of: Nay, why doe not those who now complayne joyne with us in keeping out of such, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams for the like, though lesse dangerous? Where this change of their judgments should arise I leave to themselves to examine, and I earnestly entreate them so to doe, and for this law let the equally mynded judge, what evill they finde in it, or in the practice of those who are betrusted with the execution of it."

The publication of this paper brought out Vane in reply, whose "briefe answer" was more than three times longer than Winthrop's defence. Thereupon Winthrop published a replication as long as both the other papers together. For these latter documents, our readers will be willingly remitted to Governor

Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers,"¹ who dismisses them with the single remark, "I leave the reader to judge who had the best cause, and who best defended it."

Vane's reply has often been referred to, as containing a clear and comprehensive exposition of the true principles of civil and religious liberty, and as entitling him to be ranked among the earliest assertors of toleration and the rights of conscience. Yet his paper contains repeated suggestions of a power in the king to control the colonial proceedings, and exhibits him clearly as a friend to the royal prerogative.² But, without detracting in the slightest degree from the lofty and enviable claims which have been made for him, it may well be doubted whether such views as his were entirely applicable to the case in hand, or to the condition of the Colony at the time. It may well be doubted, whether the little Commonwealth could have been held together in peace and prosperity, or could have been held together at all, by any other policy than that which Winthrop defended.

There was nothing whatever of persecution, properly so called, in that policy, nor any attempt to interfere with the freedom of conscience. It was a simple decree of separation, or rather of non-admission, to prevent political strife. Nor is it easy to perceive how some measure of the sort could have been dispensed with in that infancy of the Massachusetts Colony.

¹ A new and beautiful edition of this valuable Collection of Papers has recently been published by the Prince Society in Boston.

² Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. i. p. 505. See, also, *Life of Sir H. Vane*, by Hon. C. W. Upham, in vol. iv. Sparks's *Am. Biography*.

It was not difficult, indeed, in those days, — as it certainly is not in these, — to secure credit with posterity by advocating some broad, unqualified principle of abstract right, without regard to circumstances or consequences. One has only to look forward a hundred years, and descry, as almost any one easily can descry, certain great reformatations which the progress of events and the influences of civilization and Christianity are sure to accomplish; and then, by taking any one of these for his peculiar topic and his chosen cause, he may confidently rely on being counted among the pioneers of the enterprise. Nay, such a man may be recorded as having aided and advanced a reform, which his premature and intemperate efforts may have absolutely retarded and hindered; while another, who, in looking to the present and the practicable, may have really laid the foundations for future progress and success, will perhaps be set down as bigoted, and behind the times.

It was admirably said by the late Josiah Quincy on this subject, in his Centennial Discourse in 1830, that “had our early ancestors adopted the course we at this day are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy. It cannot be questioned, that all the fond hopes they had cherished from emigration would have been lost. The agents of Charles and James would have planted here the standard of the transatlantic monarchy and hierarchy. Divided and broken, without practical energy, subject

to court influences and court favorites, New England would, at this day, have been a Colony of the parent State, her character yet to be formed, and her independence yet to be vindicated."

"The non-toleration," proceeded Mr. Quincy, "which characterized our early ancestors, from whatever source it may have originated, had undoubtedly the effect they intended and wished. It excluded from influence, in their infant settlement, all the friends and adherents of the ancient monarchy and hierarchy; all who, from any motive, ecclesiastical or civil, were disposed to disturb their peace or their churches. They considered it a measure of 'self-defence.' And it is unquestionable, that it was chiefly instrumental in forming the homogeneous and exclusively republican character for which the people of New England have, in all times, been distinguished; and, above all, that it fixed irrevocably in the country that noble security for religious liberty, the independent system of church government."¹

Governor Winthrop seems to have exercised the discretion committed to him as one of the magistrates, under this much-vexed Order of Court, with moderation and leniency, and even to have incurred some odium, among those of his own way of thinking, by such a course. The Journal, under date of July 12, says, —

"Here came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, and some other of Mr. Wheelwright's friends, whom the governor

¹ See also Quincy's Municipal History of Boston.

thought not fit to allow, as others, to sit down among us, without some trial of them. Therefore, to save others from the danger of the law in receiving of them, he allowed them for four months. This was taken very ill by those of the other party, and many hot speeches given forth about it, and about their removal, etc."

A few weeks previous to this arrival came over a more distinguished stranger than Mrs. Hutchinson's brother, — probably the first young nobleman that ever visited Boston on a mere tour of pleasure, and of whom the Journal gives the following most agreeable account: —

"In the Hector came also the Lord Ley, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, being about nineteen years of age, who came only to see the country. He was of very sober carriage, and showed much wisdom and moderation in his lowly and familiar carriage, especially in the ship, where he was much disrespected and unworthily used by the master, one Ferne, and some of the passengers; yet he bare it meekly and silently. When he came on shore the governour was from home, and he took up his lodging at the common inn. When the governour returned, he presently came to his house. The governour offered him lodging, etc., but he refused, saying, that he came not to be troublesome to any, and the house where he was, was so well governed, that he could be as private there as elsewhere."

His juvenile lordship, however, seems hardly to have fulfilled, during his brief visit, the promise of wisdom and meekness which he had given during the voyage. He appears to have entered forthwith into the controversies of the time, to have sided at once with Vane against the party in power, and even to have

taken upon himself to institute some investigation into the loyalty of the colonists.

We hear of him first, on the 1st of July, uniting with Vane in declining to dine with Governor Winthrop for conscience' sake:—

"The differences grew so much here, as tended fast to a separation; so as Mr. Vane, being, among others, invited by the governour to accompany the Lord Ley at dinner, not only refused to come, (alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him,) but also, at the same hour, he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him."

Next we find him, in the following paragraph of the Journal, in the beginning of August, calling one Ewre to account for uttering treason against the king; when Governor Winthrop seems to have taken fit opportunity to vindicate the freedom of speech:—

"The Lord Ley, being told that one Ewre had spoken treason against the king, sent for the party, one Brooks, and inquiring of him, he told him that Ewre had said, about twelve months before, that, if the king did send any authority hither against our patent, he would be the first should resist him. This coming to the governour's knowledge, he sent for the parties, and bound them over to the general court. When they came there, Brooks brought his wife to witness with him; but her testimony agreed not with his; also three others (whom he had told it unto) reported it otherwise. So at length they all agreed, and set it under their hands, that Ewre said, that, if there came any authority out of England contrary to the patent, he would withstand it. Now, because here was no mention of the king, and because he never informed any of the magistrates of it, and for that it was evident that he bare malice to the said Ewre, we

saw no cause to take any other of the parties informing, (the rather because themselves did urge it, and she refused longer to speak at all, except she might be put to her oath,) nor any offence which deserved punishment, seeing it is lawful to resist any authority, which was to overthrow the lawful authority of the king's grant; and so the governour did openly declare, in the court, as justifiable by the laws of England."

Finally, we observe the young lord taking early leave of New England, doubtless in disgust at all which he had found there, in company with Vane, whose departure may perhaps be the subject of greater regret. The Journal thus announces this memorable exodus, under date of Aug. 3d, 1637:—

"3.] The Lord Ley and Mr. Vane went from Boston to the ship, riding at Long Island, to go for England. At their departure, those of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together, and did accompany him to the boat, (and many to the ship;) and the men, being in their arms, gave him divers vollies of shot, and five pieces of ordnance, and he had five more at the castle. But the governour was not come from the court, but had left order with the captain for their honorable dismissal."

There was so much that was noble in Vane's character, so much that was heroic in his career, and so much that was sad in his fate, after his return to England, that we cannot but rejoice in the record of this "honorable dismissal" which he received by order of Governor Winthrop. We are glad to know, too, that if there was any bitterness between the two, during the violent controversy to which they were parties, it did not survive the occasion which engendered it. Winthrop speaks of Vane in his Journal,

under date of July 25, 1645, in the kindest and most unqualified terms, as one "who had sometime lived at Boston, and though he might have taken occasion against us for some dishonor which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him here, yet both now and at other times he showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." And the following letter from Vane to Winthrop, written the same year, and while Sir Henry was at the height of his parliamentary influence and fame, proves that a friendly correspondence was kept up between them, and that their relations were cordial and affectionate:—

Sir Henry Vane to John Winthrop.

"HONORED SIR, — I received yours by your sonne, and was unwilling to let him returne without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these Kingdomes and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope that, from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, least while the congregational way amongst you is in its freedom, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here to extirpate it and roote it out, from its owne principle and practice. I shall need say noe more knowing your sonne can acquaint you particularly with our affairs.

"Sir, I am Your affectionate Friend

and Servant in Christ,

"June 10, 1645."

"H. VANE.

"Pray commend me kindly to your wife, Mr. Cotton and his wife, and the rest of my friends with you."¹

¹ Hutchinson Papers, p. 137.

We close the present chapter with two letters¹ from Winthrop to Governor Bradford of Plymouth, one of them written only three days after the election which we have described, and the other written, as it will be perceived, just as Vane was about embarking; and which show that the Colony had experienced other troubles, of late, besides those resulting from religious differences or political convulsions among themselves. A terrible war with the Pequot Indians had broken out; and in the last of these letters the Governor gives an animated account of the sad conflict by which it was brought to an early and successful conclusion. His letter presents, indeed, a melancholy picture of the poor Pequots after their defeat; and no one can read it without being tempted to cry shame on those who so ruthlessly separated husbands and wives, parents and children, and doomed all the males to exile and slavery. Yet the New-England colonists had an honest and earnest desire to convert and civilize the natives; and it is easier to deplore their want of success than to suggest what was left undone by them towards accomplishing it. It may even be doubted whether any measures of mercy towards the Pequots in this case would have been consistent with self-preservation: —

John Winthrop to William Bradford.

"S^r: The Lord having so disposed, as that your letter to our late Gov^r. is fallen to my lott to make answer unto, I

¹ Both these letters are found in Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, as admirably edited by Mr. Deane in 1856. The second is also found in Morton's New-England Memorial, from which we have copied it. The spelling in Bradford is evidently not Winthrop's, and is too bad to be followed when we can find a better copy of the same letter.

could have wished I might have been at more freedom of time & thoughts also, that I might have done it more to your & my owne satisfaction. But what shall be wanting now may be supplied hereafter. For y^e matters which from your selfe & counsell were propounded & objected to us, we thought not fitte to make them so publicke as y^e cognizance of our Generall Courte. But as they have been considered by those of our counsell, this answer we thinke fitt to return unto you. (1.) Whereas you signifie your willingnes to joyne with us in this Warr against y^e Pequents, though you cannot ingage your selves without y^e consente of your Generall Courte, we acknowledg your good affection toward us, (which we never had cause to doubt of,) and are willing to attend your full resolution, when it may most seasonably be ripened. (2^{ly}.) Whereas you make this warr to be our peopls, and not to concerne your selves, otherwise then by consequence, we do in parte consente to you therin; yet we suppose, that, in case of perill, you will not stand upon such terms, as we hope we should not doe towards you; and withall we conceive that you looke at y^e Pequents, and all other Indians, as a comōne enimie, who, though he may take occasion of y^e begining of his rage, from some one parte of y^e English, yet if he prevaile, will surly pursue his advantage, to y^e rooting out of y^e whole nation. Therefore when we desired your help, we did it not without respecte to your own saftie, as ours. (3^{ly}.) Whereas you desire we should be ingaged to aide you, upon all like occasions; we are perswaded you doe not doubt of it; yet as we now deale with you as a free people, and at libertie, so as we cannot draw you into this warr with us, otherwise then as reason may guid & provock you; so we desire we may be at y^e like freedome, when any occasion may call for help from us. And whereas it is objected to us, that we refused to aide you against y^e French; we conceive y^e case was not alicke; yet we cannot wholly excuse our failing in that matter. (4^{ly}.) Whereas you objecte that we began y^e warr without

your privities, & managed it contrary to your advise; the truth is, that our first intentions being only against Block Iland, and y^e interprice seeming of small difficulties we did not so much as consider of taking advice, or looking out for aide abroad. And when we had resolved upon y^e Pequents, we sent presently, or not long after, to you aboute it; but y^e answer received, it was not seasonable for us to chaing our counsells, except we had seen and waighed your grounds, which might have out wayed our owne. (5^{ly}.) For our peoples trading at Kenebeck, we assure you (to our knowledge) it hath not been by any allowance from us; and what we have provided in this and like cases, at our last Courte, Mr E. W.¹ can certifie you.

"And (6^{ly}); Wheras you objecte to us y^t we should hold trade & correspondancie with y^e French, your enemise; we answer, you are misinformed, for, besides some letters which hath passed betweene our late Gov^r and them, to which we were privie, we have neither sente nor encouraged ours to trade with them; only one vessell or tow, for y^e better conveyance of our letters, had licens from our Gov^r to sayle thither.

"Diverce other things have been privatly objected to us, by our worthy freind, wherunto he received some answer; but most of them concerning y^e apprehension of perticuler discourtesies, or injueries from some perticuler amongst us. It concernes us not to give any other answer to them then this; that, if y^e offenders shall be brought forth in a right way, we shall be ready to doe justice as y^e case shall require. In the meane time, we desire you to rest assured, that such things are without our privity, and not a little greeveous unto us.

"Now for y^e joyning with us in this warr, which indeed concerns us no other wise then it may your selves, viz: the releeving of our freinds & Christian breathren, who are now first in y^e danger; though you may thinke us able to make

¹ Edward Winslow.

it good without you, (as, if the Lord please to be with us, we may,) yet 3 things we offer to your consideration, which (we conceive) may have some waight with you. (First) y^t. if we should sinck under this burthen, your opportunitie of seasonable help would be lost in 3 respects. 1. You cannot recover us, or secure your selves ther, with 3 times y^e charge & hazard which now yo^u may. 2^y. The sorrowes which we should lye under (if through your neglect) would much abate of y^e acceptablenes of your help afterwards. 3^y. Those of yours, who are now full of courage and forwardnes, would be much damped, and so less able to undergoe so great a burden. The (2) thing is this, that it concernes us much to hasten this warr to an end before the end of this Som̄er, otherwise y^e newes of it will discourage both your & our freinds from coming to us next year; with what further hazard & losse it may expose us unto, your selves may judge.

"The (3) thing is this, that if y^e Lord shall please to blesse our endeavors, so as we end y^e warr, or put it in a hopefull way without you, it may breed such ill thoughts in our people towards yours, as will be hard to entertaine such opinione of your good will towards us, as were fitt to be nourished among such neighbours & brethren as we are. And what ill consequences may follow, on both sides, wise men may fear, & would rather prevente then hope to redress. So with my harty salutations to your selfe, and all your counsell, and other good freinds with you, I rest

"Yours most assured in y^e Lord,

"JO : WINTHROP.

"BOSTON, y^e 20 of y^e 3 month, 1637."

John Winthrop to William Bradford.

"WORTHY SIR,—I received your loving letter, and am much provoked to express my affections towards you, but straightness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in our pre-

vailing against his & our enemies, that you may rejoice & praise his name with us. About fourscore of our men, having coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water but most by land, met here & there with some Pequots, whom they slew or took prisoners. Two Sachems they took & beheaded; & not hearing of Sassacus, the chief Sachem, they gave a prisoner his life to go & find him out: He went & brought them word where he was, but Sassacus suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves & ranging up & down as the providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone, save three or four, & they knew not whither to find them, or else would not, upon the thirteenth of this month, they lighted upon a great company, viz. eighty strong men, & two hundred women & children, in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them.

"Our Captains were not then come together; but there was Mr. Ludlow & Captain Mason, with some ten of their men, Captain Patrick, with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Captain Trask, with fifty more, came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile round; but Lieutenant Davenport, & some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp amongst the Indians. The swamp was so thick with shrubs, & boggy withal, that some stuck fast, & received many shot.

"Lieutenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his arm hole, & another shot in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians; but Sergeant Riggs and Sergeant Jeffery, & two or three more, rescued them, & slew divers of the Indians with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley, & were offered by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, that if they would come out & yield themselves, they should

have their lives that had not their hand in the English blood. Whereupon the Sachem of the place came forth, & an old man or two, & their wives & children, & so they spake two hours, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; & so shot at him so thick, as, if he had not been presently relieved & rescued, on his crying out, they would have slain him.

"Then our men cut off a place of swamp with their swords, & cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, & the Indians coming up close to our men, shot their arrows so thick, as they pierced their hat brims, & their sleeves & stockings, & other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those there who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, & were presently discovered, & some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, & some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the mire; so as they do think that of all their company not twenty did escape, for they afterwards found some who died in the fight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river, & the rest to us of these parts. We send the male children to Bermuda¹ by Mr. William Pierce, & the women & 'maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been slain & taken in all, about seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, & the Indians, in all quarters, so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the Sachems of Long Island came to Mr. Stough-

¹ "But they were carried to the West Indies." — *Note of Bradford*, in Deane's edition of the *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 360.

ton, & tendered themselves to be under our protection; & two of the Neponset Sachems have been with me to seek our friendship. Among the prisoners we have the wife & children of Mononotto, a woman of very modest countenance & behaviour. It was by her mediation, that two English maids were spared from death, & were kindly used by her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, & that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded we fetched soon off, by John Gallop, who came with his boat in a happy hour, to bring them victuals, & to carry their wounded men to the barque, where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised. And although they had marched in their arms all the day, & had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so, as they would willingly have gone to such another business. The Captains report we have slain thirteen Sachems, but Sasacus & Mononotto are still living. This is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time, the ships being to depart within this four days, & in them Lord Lee & Mr. Vane; I here break off, & with hearty salutations, &c. I rest

"Your assured friend,

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"JULY 28, 1637."

CHAPTER XIII.

MORE STRIFE. THE GREAT NEW-ENGLAND COUP D'ÉTAT. ESSAY
ON THE POWER OF THE CHURCH. WINTHROP'S LETTERS TO
HIS WIFE AND SON.

Not long before Vane's departure from New England, and while he was still in the chair of state, Hugh Peters made bold to tell him to his face, and in presence of the court and of the elders of the churches, that "it had saddened the Ministers' spirits that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberty;" that "he should consider his youth, and short experience in the things of God, and beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto;" adding also, "that before he came, within less than two years since, the Churches were in peace."¹

Hugh Peters may, or may not, have had sufficient ground for this severe rebuke. It is certain, however, that, if Vane's coming had caused all the dissensions which we have described, his departure by no means put an immediate end to them. On the contrary, they seemed to wax warmer and fiercer than before. All sorts of measures were resorted to in order to allay

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i. p. 209.

them. Sermons of pacification were proposed. A day of general humiliation was appointed. And, finally, on the 30th of August, a solemn assembly or synod of all the teaching elders was convened at Newtown, to consider "the erroneous opinions, unwholesome expressions, and abused Scriptures, which were spread in the country." Winthrop tells us that "there were about eighty opinions, some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe, condemned by the whole assembly."

But peace was as far off as before ; and, according to the following passage from the Journal, the contention and discord reached such a pitch, even in this spiritual assembly, that Governor Winthrop was compelled to threaten the interposition of the civil authority : —

"Some of the church of Boston, and some others, were offended at the producing of so many errors, as if it were a reproach laid upon the country without cause ; and called to have the persons named, which held those errors. To which it was answered and affirmed by many, both elders and others, that all those opinions could be proved, by sufficient testimony, to be held by some in the country ; but it was not thought fit to name the parties, because this assembly had not to do with persons, but doctrines only. Yet this would not satisfy some, but they oft called for witnesses ; and, because some of the magistrates declared to them, (when they refused to forbear speech unseasonably, though the moderators desired them,) that, if they would not forbear, it would prove a civil disturbance, and then the magistrate must interpose, they objected against this, as if the magistrate had nothing to do in this assembly. So as he was forced to tell one of them, that, if he would not forbear, but make trial of it, he

might see it executed. Upon this some of Boston departed from the assembly, and came no more."

On the last day of this assembly, several resolutions were solemnly adopted, two of which afford us an edifying insight into some of the practices of the period, and show the character of some of the disorders by which the peace of the churches was so grievously disturbed. They are as follows:—

"1. That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly, (as was then in practice at Boston,) where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetic way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly, and without rule.

"2. Though a private member might ask a question publicly, after sermon, for information; yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and that with leave of the elders: but questions of reference, (then in use,) whereby the doctrines delivered were reprov'd, and the elders reproach'd, and that with bitterness, etc., was utterly condemned."

Whatever may be thought, in our days, of the women's meetings which were proscribed by the first of these resolutions, we doubt whether even the advocates of the largest liberty would defend the practice which was condemned in the second,—the practice, which seems at that time to have prevailed in some of the churches, of members of the congregation rising publicly after the sermon was over, to reprove and reproach with bitterness the doctrines which had been delivered by the minister. Some of the other resolutions

and decisions which were adopted on this occasion could hardly be commended to modern approbation; but the synod seems, upon the whole, to have given great satisfaction to Governor Winthrop; and it is not a little amusing, after having so recently cited his description of the disturbances which characterized its opening, to find in his *Journal* the following account of its close. Surely the latter end of that meeting must have been better than the beginning:—

“22.] The assembly brake up; and it was propounded by the governour, that they would consider, that, seeing the Lord had been so graciously present in this assembly, that matters had been carried on so peaceably, and concluded so comfortably in all love, etc., if it were not fit to have the like meeting once a year, or, at least, the next year, to settle what yet remained to be agreed, or if but to nourish love, etc. This motion was well liked of all, but it was not thought fit to conclude it.”

But tranquillity was not yet restored to the churches of the Colony. Vane had departed. Sermons had been preached. A day of humiliation had been austere observed. A solemn assembly had sat for nearly a month; had passed a score of resolutions, and condemned four-score of blasphemous, erroneous, or unsafe opinions; and had separated in love. Women's conventicles had been ruled disorderly. Public reprovings and reproachings of the minister after sermon had been censured and prohibited. But, if the dissenters had been convinced, it soon became evident that they had been “convinced against their will,” and—

“Were of the same opinion still.”

Little more than two months, indeed, had elapsed

since the assembly adjourned, when we find the Governor setting down in his Journal the story of its failure, and bearing witness to the utter disappointment of his own hopes. The record is dated November, 1637, and furnishes a full account of the severe and summary courses to which the General Court at last resorted, in order to put a final end to the religious feuds by which the churches and the whole Commonwealth had been so long distracted: —

“There was great hope that the late general assembly would have had some good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; but it fell out otherwise. For though Mr. Wheelwright and those of his party had been clearly confuted and confounded in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy in nourishing contentions (the principal of them) as before. Whereupon the general court, being assembled in the 2 of the 9th month, and finding, upon consultation, that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal; and for this a fair opportunity was offered by the remonstrance or petition, which they preferred to the court the 9th of the 1st month, wherein they affirm Mr. Wheelwright to be innocent, and that the court had condemned the truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches, (as appears at large in the proceedings of this court, which were faithfully collected and published soon after the court brake up,) subscribed by more than sixty of that faction, whereof one William Aspinwall, being one, and he that drew the said petition, being then sent as a deputy for Boston, was for the same dismissed, and after called to the court and disfranchised and banished. John Coggeshall was another deputy, who, though his hand were not to the petition, yet, professing himself to approve it, etc., was also dismissed, and after disfran-

chised. Then the court sent warrant to Boston to send other deputies in their room; but they intended to have sent the same men again; but Mr. Cotton, coming amongst them, dissuaded them with much ado. Then the court sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and, he persisting to justify his sermon, and his whole practice and opinions, and refusing to leave either the place or his public exercisings, he was disfranchised and banished. Upon which he appealed to the king, but neither called witnesses, nor desired any act to be made of it. The court told him, that an appeal did not lie; for by the king's grant we had power to hear and determine without any reservation, etc. So he relinquished his appeal, and the court gave him leave to go to his house, upon his promise, that, if he were not gone out of our jurisdiction within fourteen days, he would render himself to one of the magistrates.

"The court also sent for Mrs. Hutchinson, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her house, whereto sixty or eighty persons did usually resort, and for reproaching most of the ministers (*viz.*, all except Mr. Cotton) for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, nor were able ministers of the New Testament; which were clearly proved against her, though she sought to shift it off. And, after many speeches to and fro, at last she was so full as she could not contain, but vented her revelations; amongst which this was one, that she had it revealed to her, that she should come into New England, and should here be persecuted, and that God would ruin us and our posterity, and the whole state, for the same. So the court proceeded and banished her; but, because it was winter, they committed her to a private house, where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else.

"The court called also Capt. Underhill, and some five or six more of the principal, whose hands were to the said petition; and because they stood to justify it, they were disfranchised, and such as had public places were put from them.

"The court also ordered, that the rest, who had subscribed the petition, (and would not acknowledge their fault, and which near twenty of them did,) and some others, who had been chief stirrers in these contentions, etc., should be disarmed. This troubled some of them very much, especially because they were to bring them in themselves; but at last, when they saw no remedy, they obeyed.

"All the proceedings of this court against these persons were set down at large, with the reasons and other observations, and were sent into England to be published there,¹ to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us, etc."

It is well remarked by Mr. Savage, in his note upon this passage of the Journal, that "in no part of the history of any of the United States, perhaps, can a parallel be found" for the act which is here recorded. It was, indeed, a *coup d'état* worthy of the most arbitrary governments of the old world, and which has hardly been matched by any of them in modern times. Yet it was resorted to by the Puritans of New England in no spirit of usurpation, and with no purpose of self-aggrandizement. The resolution of the General Court, under which the Hutchinsonian party was disarmed, undoubtedly sets forth the honest apprehensions and convictions of those by whom it was adopted. It was passed on the 20th November, 1637; and is in the following words:—

¹ These proceedings gave occasion, seven years afterwards, to the publication in London, of the "Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, &c.," which has been the subject of a long story in these later days. Mr. Savage has gone deeply into the controversy as to the relative parts of Winthrop and Welde in this publication, and I gladly yield to the force of an argument which assigns all that was rancorous and vindictive in that publication to somebody other than Winthrop — See Savage's Genealogical Dict., vol. iv. pp. 459-73.

"Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors, many of the people heare in Newe England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspition, that they, as others in Germany, in former times, may, upon some revelation, make some suddaine irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment: for prevention whereof, it is ordered, that all those, whose names are underwritten, shall, (upon warning given or left at their dwelling houses,) before the 30th day of this month of November, deliver in at Mr. Cane's¹ house at Boston all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, and match, as they shall bee owners of, or have in their custody, upon paine of tenn pound for evry default to bee made thereof; which armes are to bee kept by Mr. Cane till this court shall take further order therein. Also it is ordered, upon like penalty of X £, that no man, who is to render his armes by this order, shall buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot, or match, untill this court shall take further order therein."

Under this order, nearly sixty persons in Boston, and about twenty in the neighboring towns, were disarmed,—many of them persons of the best consideration in the Colony; and some of whom were afterwards highly distinguished in the military service of New England.

Such a measure could not fail to excite a good deal of ill blood towards the magistrates by whom it was executed. Governor Winthrop, of course, received his full share of censure for the proceeding. The following passage from his Journal, of about the same date with the transaction, gives the story

¹ Captain Robert Keayne, the first Commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and whose difficulty with Mrs. Sherman about the stray sow will soon render him familiar to our readers.

of an attempt which was made to call him to account in the church, and furnishes his own brief of a speech which he made on the subject:—

"After this, many of the church of Boston, being highly offended with the governour for this proceeding, were earnest with the elders to have him called to account for it; but they were not forward in it, and himself, understanding their intent, thought fit to prevent such a public disorder, and so took occasion to speak to the congregation to this effect:—

"1. That if he had been called, etc., he would have desired, first, to have advised with the elders, whether the church had power to call in question the proceedings of the civil court.

"2. He would have consulted with the rest of the court, whether he might discover the counsels of the court to this assembly.

"3. Though he knew, that the elders and some others did know, that the church could not inquire into the justice and proceedings of the court, etc.; yet, for the satisfaction of such as did not, and were willing to be satisfied, he would declare his mind herein.

"4. He showed, that, if the church had such power, they must have it from Christ, but Christ had disclaimed it in his practice and by rule, as Luke [blank,] Matt. [blank,] and the scripture holds not out any rule or example for it; and though Christ's kingly power be in his church, yet that is not that kingly power whereby he is King of kings and Lord of lords, for by that kings reign and princes, etc. It is true, indeed, that magistrates, as they are church members, are accountable to the church for their failings, but that is when they are out of their calling; for we have examples of the highest magistrates in the same kind, as Uzzia, when he would go offer incense in the temple, the officers of the church called

him to account, and withstood him. But when Asa put a prophet in prison, and when Salam put out Abiathar from the priesthood, (the one being a good act and the other ill,) yet the officers of the church did not call either of them to account for it. If a magistrate shall, in a private way, take away a man's goods or his servants, etc., the church may call him to account for it; but if he doth thus in pursuing a course of justice, (though the thing be unjust,) yet he is not accountable, etc.

"5. For himself, he did nothing in the cases of the brethren, but by the advice and direction of our teacher and other of the elders. For in the oath, which was administered to him and the rest, etc., there was inserted, by his advice, this clause,—In all causes wherein you are to give your vote, etc., you are to give your vote as in your judgment and conscience you shall see to be most for the public good, etc.; and so for his part he was persuaded, that it would be most for the glory of God, and the public good, to pass sentence as they did.

"6. He would give them one reason, which was a ground for his judgment, and that was, for that he saw, that those brethren, etc., were so divided from the rest of the country in their judgment and practice, as it could not stand with the public peace, that they should continue amongst us. So, by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after Hagar and Ishmael, he saw they must be sent away."

It will be perceived that the larger part of the Governor's argument on this occasion was aimed at the pretended power of the Church to call a magistrate to account for what he may have done in the discharge of his official responsibility. Towards the close, however, he makes a declaration, which no one will disbelieve, that, according to his best judgment, the brethren who had been banished "were so divided

from the rest of the country in their judgment and practice, as it could not stand with *the public peace* that they should continue amongst us ;” and that “for his part he was persuaded, that it would be most for the glory of God and the public good to pass sentence as they did.” The public peace and the glory of God may have been the plausible pretexts of other men, in other times, for the adoption of arbitrary and tyrannical measures ; but nobody will doubt that they were the true motives of John Winthrop and his associates in 1637, however all may regret the acts to which they were parties. Nor let it be forgotten, in this connection, how recently we have seen Winthrop rebuked and censured for too much lenity, until he had been constrained to promise that he would school himself to a severer and more rigorous exercise of authority thereafter.

It was doubtless at this period, and with reference to this controversy, that the Governor prepared an essay on the power of the Church to sit in judgment on the civil magistrate. An imperfect copy of this essay is found among his papers, and we give it as we find it :—

“That a Church hath not power to call any Civill Magistrate to give Account of his Juditiall proceedings in any Court of Civill Justice; and what the Church may doe in such Causes.

“1: The Scripture affords neither rule nor example of any such power in the Church, but diverse ag^t it: for Christ disclameth it, where he asketh who made him a Judge of dividing Inheritances. But if they should have this

power, they must of necessity be Judges of such thinges : for putt Case, a Magistrate give sentence ag^t a member of a Church, upon a title of Inheritance, or in an Action of Debt or Trespasse, & he beinge offended wth the Magistrate for it (as supposinge it to be uniust) bringes him to the Church for it, then must the Church trye this title, & examine the matter of Debt or Trespasse, wth all the circumstances of it *de integro*; else how shall they be able to Judge whether the Magistrate hath given offence to his brother or not ?

"2: By occasion heerof the Church should become the Supream Court in the Jurisdiction, & capable of all Appeales, & so in trueth meerly Antich^t, by beinge exalted aboue all that is called God, &c.

"3: If this were allowed, then the Church should have power to Judge, where it wants meanes to finde out the Trueth: for the Church cannot call in forrein witnesses: nor examine witnesses upon oath, nor require the view of the records of the Court: all wh. may be needful for findinge out the trueth in many cases.

"4: To examine a Civill businesse in a waye of Judicature (though it ayme not at outward punishment) is an exercise of such Aut^{ty} as Christ forbiddes his disciples: the Lords of the Gentiles exercise Aut^{ty}, etc.; but you shall not doe so.

"5: Christ his kingdome is not of this world, therefore his officers in this kingdome cannot Juditially enquire into affaires of this world.

"6: Such powers would confounde those Jurisdictions which Christ hath made distinct: for as he is Kinge of kinges & Lo: of Lo: he hath sett up another kingdome in this worlde, wherein magistrates are his officers, and they are to be accountable to him for their miscarriages in the waye & order of this kingdome.

"7: This would sett Christ ag^t himselfe in his owne Ordinances, without any ordinary meanes of redresse, & so

there must needs be a defecte in his dispensations, wh. cañt be; for if the Church (supposinge the Civill magistrates had intrenched upon Christs spirituall kingdome) should excommunicate them; & againe the magistrate (supposinge the Officers of the Church had vsurped upon his Civill authoritye) should imprison or banishe them: now is Christs kingdome divided, one ordinance ag^t another, not to moderation but to destruction: and heere is no menes to reconcile them: but if the Rule of Christ be observed, Resist not evill, & submitt yo^rselves to the higher powers, now is the honor & safety of

[Here the paper is torn.]

"It was Luthers Counsell to the Anabaptists (from the example of himself & others of those Churches), that though their magistrates did oppresse & iniure them, yet they should praye for them, & comēde them, & seeke to winne them by gentlenesse &c, & when the Church shall binde kinges in chaines & nobles in fetters of iron (Ps: 149) (wh. cañt be meant of Church censures, for it shalbe in vengeance & Judgment foretould ag^t the heathen), then the meek shall be beautified wth salvation; then Kinges shalbe their nursing fathers &c; (Esay 49. 23) they shall bowe downe to hir & licke the duste of her feet; & none shall hurt or destroye in all the holy mountaine (Esay 65. 25): So that the wisdom, pietye & meeknesse of the Church shall winne the hearts of kinges &c: & binde them so to her in the power of the Gospell, as they shall love the verye earth she treads on; they shall beare that reverence to her, as she shall need feare no hurt from them, no more than a child doth from the nurse: therefore no need to binde them by church censures: they were other kinges whom he sayth the people should curse in the dayes of their calamitye; & yet when they should curse their kinges, he sayth, they should curse their God allso (Esay 8. 21), — a man may not say to a king, thou art wicked; nor call princes ungodly (Job: 34. 18)'.

"I denye not but that a private person may privately reprove a magistrate offendinge, but he may not doe it publicly: except he be publicly called to beare witness to the Trueth, as Stephen was.

"I consent also, that Magistrates should beare wth the faylinges of their Christian brethren, when in tender care of the public good & their honor & comfort, they chance to excede the limitts of their lib^{ty}; but such breth: must then see, & not Justifie their faylings; for Christ bidds us not forgive o^r brother, till he saye, it repenteth him."

The little that remains to be told of the story of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, before her final departure from the jurisdiction of the Colony, would throw no additional light on the character or conduct of Governor Winthrop, and may therefore be left, together with the account of her sad fate, to the pages of general history. The superstition which he exhibited, in common with so many of his contemporaries, in regard to the matter of "the monstrous births," will find ample illustration in connection with other less disgusting topics. We must not omit, however, the following letter of the Governor's to three of his friends who had been more or less concerned with the remonstrance, and with whom Winthrop seems to have felt called on to expostulate more particularly in regard to the course they had pursued:—

John Winthrop to William Coddington and others.

"To my worthy friends and beloved brethren, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coxall, and Mr. Colburne.

"BELOVED BRETHREN,—I met lately with the remonstrance subscribed by yourselves with others. I must confess

I saw it once before, but had not then tyme to read it advisedly, as now I have. I hope soon (by God's assistance) to make it appear, what wrong hath been done to the Court, yea, and to the truth itself, by that rash, unwarranted and seditious enterprise. In the mean tyme, I thought fitt, to advertise you of some miscarriages therein; and, though your countenancing of others in the like practice leaves me small hope, that you will hearken to my council in this, yet in discharge of my duty and brotherly respect towards you, I have given this attempt, and shall leave the success to God.

"1. In this you have broke the bounds of your calling, that you did publish such a writing, when you were no members of the Court.

"2. In that you tax the Court with injustice.

"3. In that you affirm that all the Acts of the major part of that Court are void, whereby you go about to overthrow the foundation of our Commonwealth and the peace thereof, by turning all our magistrates out of office, and by nullifying all our Laws.

4. In that you invite the body of the people to join with you in your seditious attempt against the Court, and the Authority here established, against the rule of the Apostle, who requires every soul to be subject to the higher powers, and every Christian man to study to be quiet, and to meddle with his own business.

"I earnestly desire you to consider seriously of these things, and if it please the Lord to open your eyes to see your failings, it will be much joy to me, and (I doubt not but) the Court will be very ready to pass them by, and accept of your submission; and it may be a means of a further and firmer reconciliation; which the Lord grant, and in his good time effect.

"So I rest y^r loving brother,

J. W.

"XI. 15. 1637."

We turn with relief from these unhappy strifes to Winthrop's domestic correspondence. The General Court, which had been the scene of such bitter controversies, was held at Newtown; and the session lasted from the 2d to the 20th of November. Here are three brief notes to his wife, the first of which bears date, "the 6th of the 9th, 1637." The two last are without either date or signature, and may possibly have been written at some other time: but they look very much as if they belonged to this particular period; and they may as well be introduced here as anywhere, to illustrate the Governor's characteristic unwillingness to omit any opportunity of testifying his affection for his devoted wife during these prolonged absences:—

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"for Mrs. Winthrop at her house in Boston.

"SWEET HEART,—I was unwillingly hinderd from cominge to thee, nor am I like to see thee before the last daye of this weeke: therefore I shall want a band or 2: & cuffes. I pray thee also send me 6: or 7: leaves of Tobacco dried & powdred. Have care of thy selfe this colde weather, & speak to the folkes to keepe the goates well out of the Garden; & if my brother Peter hath not fetched away the sheep ramme, let them looke him up & give him meate, the green pease in the Garden &c are good for him: If any lettres be come for me send them by this bearer. I will trouble thee no further, the Lorde blesse & keepe thee my sweet wife & all o' familye: & send us a comfortable meetinge, so I kisse thee & love thee ever & rest

"Thy faithfull husband,

"JO: WINTHROP.

"This 6th of the 9th, 1637."

John Winthrop to his Wife.

“for Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

“MY SWEET WIFE, — I prayse God I am in good health, peace be to thee & o^r familye, so I kisse thee, & hope shortly to see thee: farewell.

“Hasten the sendinge awaye Skarlett, & gatheringe the Turnips.”

John Winthrop to his Wife.

“for Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

“MY SWEET WIFE, — So fitt an occasiō must not passe wthout a token to thee. I prayse God I am well: the Lo: blesse thee & all o^rs, so I kisse thee the second tyme, farewell.”

Meantime, his son John had now finished his term as Governor of the little Colony on the Connecticut River, and had returned to his residence in Ipswich, where it would seem that his wife had been in serious danger from swallowing a pin. The letter, alluding somewhat humorously to this accident, and describing the severity of the winter, shall speak for itself, and bring us to the beginning of a new year and a new chapter: —

John Winthrop to his Son.

“To his very loving Son, Mr. John Winthrop, at Ipswich, d’d.

“MY GOOD SON, — I received your letter, and heartily rejoyce and bless the Lord for his merciful providence towards us all, in delivering your wife from so great a danger. The Lord make us truly thankful. And I hope it will teach my daughter and other women to take heed of putting pins in the mouth, which was never seasonable

to be fed with such morsels. I can write you no news, only we had letters from Conectacott, where they were shut up with snow above a month since, and we at Boston were almost ready to break up for want of wood, but that it pleased the Lord to open the bay, (which was so frozen as men went over it in all places,) and mitigate the rigor of the season; blessed be his name. On Friday was fortnight, a pinnacle was cast away upon Long Island by Natascott, and Mr. Babbe and others, who were in her, came home upon the ice. We have had one man frozen to death, and some others have lost their fingers and toes. Seven men were carried out to sea in a little, rotten skiff, and kept there twenty-four hours, without food or fire, and at last gat to Pullen Point.

"We have appointed the general court the 12 of the 1 month. We shall expect you here before the court of assistants. So, with all hearty salutations from myself and your mother to yourself and wife, and little Betty, and all our good friends with you, I commend you to the blessing of the Lord, and rest

"Your loving father, Jo. W.

"I send you herein the warrant for Ipswich and Newbury. Commend me to your brother and sister Dudley.

"XIth, 22, 1637."¹

¹ Another letter of the Governor's, of more serious import, written a week later, has come to light since our volume was in type; and we have been obliged to throw it into the Appendix No. IV.

CHAPTER XIV.

WINTHROP CHOSEN GOVERNOR AGAIN. VISITED BY THE INDIANS.
THE COLONY CHARTER IN DANGER, AND SAVED. FIRST PRINT-
ING-PRESS.

THE Journal of Governor Winthrop, for the political year 1638, opens with the following brief account of his re-election to the Chief Magistracy, and of his serious illness, under date of May 2:—

"(3.) 2.] At the court of elections, the former governor, John Winthrop, was chosen again. The same day, at night, he was taken with a sharp fever, which brought him near death; but many prayers were put up to the Lord for him, and he was restored again after one month."

On the fifth day of the succeeding month, we have this pleasant anecdote of the Governor's friendly intercourse with a famous Indian chief. It would not be easy to find an earlier or more authentic illustration of the natural eloquence of the red man, than in the brief speech of Uncas on this occasion, as recorded by Winthrop, to whom it was made:—

"5.] Unkus, alias Okoco, the Monahegan sachem in the twist of Pequod River, came to Boston with thirty-seven men. He came from Connecticut with Mr. Haynes, and tendered the governour a present of twenty fathom of wampom. This was at the court, and it was thought fit by the council to refuse it, till he had given satisfaction about the

Pequods he kept, etc. Upon this he was much dejected, and made account we would have killed him; but, two days after, having received good satisfaction¹ of his innocency, etc., and he promising to submit to the order of the English touching the Pequods he had, and the differences between the Naragansetts and him, we accepted his present. And, about half an hour after, he came to the governour, and entertained him with these compliments: This heart (laying his hand upon his breast) is not mine, but yours; I have no men; they are all yours; command me any difficult thing, I will do it; I will not believe any Indians' words against the English; if any man shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death, were he never so dear to me. So the governour gave him a fair, red coat, and defrayed his and his men's diet, and gave them corn to relieve them homeward, and a letter of protection to all men, etc., and he departed very joyful."

In the month of September of this year, a matter of serious moment was brought to the attention of the Governor and Assistants, in the shape of a renewed effort of the Lords Commissioners in England to obtain the surrender of the Massachusetts Charter. Similar attempts had, indeed, been made more than once before. As early as 1633, some of the enemies of the Colony had instituted complaints before the king and Council, with a view to the restriction of its corporate privileges. But this attempt had signally failed; so favorable a report of the proceedings and progress of the Colony having been made by Sir Thomas Jermin, one of the Council, that his majesty declared that "he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his governour and the plantation."¹

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i. p. 103.

In July, 1634, again, we find it recorded by Winthrop, that "Mr. Cradock (who had been governour in England before the government was sent over) had strict charge to deliver in the patent: whereupon he wrote to us to send it home." "But," proceeds the Journal of that date, "upon receipt of his letter, the governour and council consulted about it, and resolved to answer Mr. Cradock's letter, but not to return any answer of excuse to the Council at that time."¹

Soon after, we find the same thing stated in a different form, as follows:—

"Mr. Cradock wrote to the governour and assistants, and sent a copy of the council's order, whereby we were required to send over our patent. Upon long consultation whether we should return answer or not, we agreed, and returned answer to Mr. Cradock, excusing that it could not be done but by a general court, which was to be holden in September next."²

In September of the same year, an alarm was excited of an immediate invasion by the mother country of the civil and religious rights of the colony; and a spirit of resistance was roused up, both among ministers and magistrates, which clearly foreshadowed the events of a still remote future. We might almost imagine that the Governor's Journal had relation to 1775, instead of 1634, as we read the following passage:—

"18.] At this court were many laws made against tobacco, and immodest fashions, and costly apparel, etc., as appears by the Records; and £600 raised towards fortifications and other charges, which were the more hastened, because the

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 135.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 137.

Griffin and another ship now arriving with about two hundred passengers and one hundred cattle, (Mr. Lothrop and Mr. Simmes, two godly ministers, coming in the same ship), there came over a copy of the commission granted to the two archbishops and ten others of the council, to regulate all plantations, and power given them, or any five of them, to call in all patents, to make laws, to raise tythes and portions for ministers, to remove and punish governours, and to hear and determine all causes, and inflict all punishments, even death itself, etc. This being advised from our friends to be intended specially for us, and that there were ships and soldiers provided, given out as for the carrying the new governour, Capt. Woodhouse, to Virginia, but suspected to be against us, to compel us, by force, to receive a new governour, and the discipline of the church of England, and the laws of the commissioners, — occasioned the magistrates and deputies to hasten our fortifications, and to discover our minds each to other; which grew to this conclusion, viz. — ”

The Governor here broke off his narrative abruptly, and thus failed to tell us, in this part of his Journal, what was the precise nature of “this conclusion;” but a few pages onward, under date of Jan. 19, we find the following ample elucidation of the matter: —

“All the ministers, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the governour and assistants, to consider of these two cases: 1. What we ought to do, if a general governour should be sent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners? — In the first case, they all agreed, that, if a general governour were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, (if we were able;) otherwise to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross, they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting.”

When the magistrates and deputies began thus to

“hasten their fortifications,” and the ministers all agreed, that, “if a general governour were sent, we ought not to accept him, but to defend our lawful possessions, if we were able,” it is abundantly evident that the spirit of independence had already found its way to New England. Fortunately, there was to be no present occasion for its further manifestation; and the policy so significantly described by the Governor’s phrase, “*to avoid or protract*,” was to be successful for more than a century still to come, and until the ability of New England to resist oppression should be more commensurate with her resolution to do so.

In 1638, however, a peremptory demand for the surrender of the Charter was again made, and was the subject of more formal notice than any of the previous movements of the sort. The Governor’s Journal, under date of Sept. 7, gives the following account of the matter:—

“The general court was assembled, in which it was agreed, that, whereas a very strict order was sent from the lords commissioners for plantations for the sending home our patent, upon pretence that judgment had passed against it upon a *quo warranto*, a letter should be written by the governour, in the name of the court, to excuse our not sending of it; for it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon we should be bound to receive such a governour and such orders as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves, would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a general governour.”

The same subject is noticed soon afterwards in the Journal of Sept. 21, as follows:—

"This year there came a letter from Mr. Thomas Mewtis, clerk of the council in England, directed to Mr. Winthrop, (the present governour,) and therein an order from the lords commissioners for foreign plantations, (being all of the council,) wherein they straightly required the patent to be sent home by the first ship, etc. This letter and order were produced at the general court last passed, and there agreed not to send home the patent, but to return answer to the lords by way of humble petition, which was drawn up and sent accordingly. These instruments are all among the governour's papers, and the effect of them would be here inserted."

The Governor undoubtedly intended to insert an abstract of these documents in the pages of his Diary, but failed to do so. Fortunately, the documents themselves are at hand, preserved by Hubbard, who probably borrowed them, as he did so much of the rest of his History, from the papers of Winthrop himself. The letter of the Governor, on so important and delicate a subject, is certainly deserving of a place in any memoir of his life and services; and the reader will be curious to see how he excused a course of conduct which bordered so closely on rebellion and independence. We give it, accordingly, with the order of the Lords Commissioners prefixed, which concludes, it will be perceived, by a threat that his majesty would "re-assume into his hands the whole plantation:"—

"At WHITEHALL, April 4th, 1638

"PRESENT

"Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.	"Earl of Holland.
Lord Keeper.	Lord Cottington.
Lord Treasurer.	Mr. Treasurer.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Comptroller.
Earl Marshal.	Mr. Secretary Cooke.
Earl of Dorset.	Mr. Sec. Windebank.

"This day the Lords Commissioners for foreign plantations, taking into consideration that the petitions and complaints of his Majesty's subjects, planters and traders in New England, grow more frequent than heretofore, for want of a settled and orderly government in those parts; and calling to mind that they had formerly given order, about two or three years since, to Mr. Cradock, a member of the plantation, to cause the grant, or letters patent for that plantation, (alleged by him to be there remaining, in the hands of Mr. Winthrop,) to be sent over hither; and that notwithstanding the same, the said letters patent were not, as yet, brought over: and their lordships being now informed by Mr. Attorney General, that a *quo warranto* had been by him brought according to former order, against the said patent, and the same was proceeded to judgment against so many as had appeared, and that they which had not appeared were outlawed:

"Their lordships, well approving of Mr. Attorney's care and proceeding therein, did now resolve and order, that Mr. Meawtes, clerk of the council, attendant upon the said commissioners for foreign plantations, should, in a letter from himself to Mr. Winthrop, inclose and convey this order unto him. And their lordships hereby, in his Majesty's name, and according to his express will and pleasure, strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop, or any other in whose power or custody the said letters patent are, that they fail not to transmit the said patent hither by the return of the ship, in which the order is conveyed to them; it being resolved that in case of any further neglect or contempt by them shewed therein, their lordships will cause a strict course to be taken against them, and will move his Majesty to reassume into his hands the whole plantation."

And now comes Winthrop's letter:—

"To the Right Honourable, the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations.

"The humble petition of the Massachusetts, in New England, in the general court there assembled, the 6th day of September, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles.

"Whereas, it hath pleased your Lordships, by order of the 4th of April last, to require our patent to be sent unto you; we do here humbly and sincerely profess, that we are ready to yield all due obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, and to your Lordships under him, and in this mind we left our native country, and according thereunto hath been our practice ever since; so as we are much grieved that your Lordships should call in our patent, there being no cause known to us for that purpose, our government being settled according to his Majesty's grant, and we not answerable for any defect in other plantations. This is that which his Majesty's subjects do believe and profess, and therefore we are all humble suitors to your Lordships, that you would be pleased to take into further consideration our condition, and to afford unto us the liberties of subjects, that we may know what is laid to our charge, and have leave and time to answer for ourselves before we be condemned as a people unworthy of his Majesty's favour or protection. As for the *quo warranto* mentioned in the said order, we do assure your Lordships, that we were never called to make answer to it, and if we had, we doubt not but we have a sufficient plea to put in.

"It is not unknown to your Lordships that we came into these remote parts with his Majesty's license and encouragement, under his great seal of England, and, in the confidence we had of the great assurance of his favour, we have transported our families and estates, and here have we built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, so as if our patent should be now taken from us, we should be looked at as runagates and out-

laws, and shall be enforced either to remove to some other place, or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities; and these evils, (among others,) will necessarily follow:

"1. Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men.

"2. If we be forced to desert the place, the rest of the plantations about us, (being too weak to subsist alone,) will for the most part dissolve and go along with us, and then will this whole country fall into the hands of French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity.

"3. If we should lose all our labour and cost, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing to be found in us in point of allegiance, (which all our countrymen do take notice of, and we justify our faithfulness in this behalf,) it will discourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings upon confidence of his Majesty's royal grant.

"4. Lastly, if our patent be taken from us, (whereby we suppose we may claim interest in his Majesty's favour and protection,) the common people here will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid. Upon these considerations we are bold to renew our humble supplication to your Lordships, that we may be suffered to live here in this wilderness, and that this poor plantation, which hath found more favour with God than many other, may not find less favour from your Lordships, that our liberties should be restrained, when others are enlarged; that the door should be kept shut upon us, while it stands open to all other plantations; that men of ability should be debarred from us, while they have encouragement

to other colonies. We do not question your Lordships' proceedings, we only desire to open our griefs where the remedy is to be expected. If in any thing we have offended his Majesty and your Lordships, we humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority.

"Let us be made the objects of his Majesty's clemency, and not cut off in our first appeal from all hope of favour. Thus with our earnest prayers unto the King of kings for long life and prosperity to his sacred Majesty, and his royal family, and for all honor and welfare to your Lordships, we humbly take leave."

This humble petition seems to have settled the question in favor of the Colony. "The Lords Commissioners," says Hubbard, "to whom the letter above written from Mr. Winthrop was directed, either rested satisfied in what was therein alleged, and so made no further demand of returning the patent; or otherwise, which some think more probable, concernments of an higher nature, intervening in that juncture of time, gave a supersedeas to that design and intendment."¹ Undoubtedly, the time was fast approaching when Charles and his Council were to have enough to do at home, without being extreme to mark what was done amiss in the Colonies. Yet the attempt upon the Charter was not wholly given up; and we hear of it once more, and learn how it was disposed of, in the following extract from the Journal of June, 1639:—

"The governour received letters from Mr. Cradock, and in them another order from the lords commissioners, to this

¹ Hubbard's History of New England, p. 271.

effect: That, whereas they had received our petition upon their former order, etc., by which they perceived, that we were taken with some jealousies and fears of their intentions, etc., they did accept of our answer, and did now declare their intentions to be only to regulate all plantations to be subordinate to the said commission; and that they meant to continue our liberties, etc., and therefore did now again peremptorily require the governour to send them our patent by the first ship; and that, in the mean time, they did give us, by that order, full power to go on in the government of the people until we had a new patent sent us; and, withal, they added threats of further course to be taken with us, if we failed.

“This order being imparted to the next general court, some advised to return answer to it. Others thought fitter to make no answer at all, because, being sent in a private letter, and not delivered by a certain messenger, as the former order was, they could not proceed upon it, because they could not have any proof that it was delivered to the governour; and order was taken, that Mr. Cradock’s agent, who delivered the letter to the governour, etc., should, in his letters to his master, make no mention of the letters he delivered to the governour, seeing his master had not laid any charge upon him to that end.”

And thus the “avoid-or-protract” policy was persevered in and prevailed. The original patent of Massachusetts could not fail to be peculiarly precious to Governor Winthrop; and it was owing to his prudence and firmness, not merely that it remains to this day in our archives at the State House as a venerable memorial of our earliest existence, but that its substantial and cherished privileges were so long enjoyed by the people of the Colony. He had brought it over with him in the Arbella, in evidence of that “transfer

of the whole government" which had been so solemnly agreed upon by the founders of Massachusetts before they would consent to leave their native land. The very condition of the Agreement at Cambridge was, as we have seen in our previous volume, that "the whole Government, together with the Patent for the said Plantation, be first, by an Order of Court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said Plantation."¹ This condition was accepted and ratified by the General Court of the Company in London, on the 28th of August, 1629; and Winthrop was elected Governor a few weeks afterwards to carry out the Agreement. Under such circumstances, he could not but feel that the sacred instrument was specially committed to his own care, and that he was bound to preserve, protect, and defend it by every means in his power. He did so, and did so successfully, as long as he lived; and it was not until five and thirty years after his death that a judgment was finally issued by the king in chancery, by which it was vacated and annulled.² It was a happy thought of the artist who designed the statue of Winthrop for the Chapel at Mount Auburn to represent him with the old Charter of Massachusetts in his hand:³ for, after his Bible, there was nothing he could have prized more highly; and he must ever be associated in history with a resolute vindication and

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. pp. 344-5.

² The exemplification of the judgment for vacating the Charter in 1684 was first printed by Mr. Charles Deane, in the second volume of Massachusetts Historical Collections, fourth series.

³ See the frontispiece of this volume.

a successful defence of it, in which that same spirit of independence, which pervaded the continent more than a century afterwards, was distinctly and nobly prefigured.

Early in the month of November of this year (1638), "the Governour," as he tells us in his Journal, "went by water to Salem, where he was entertained with all the respect that they could show him. The 12 he returned by land, and they sent six of their chief military officers with carbines to guard him to Boston."¹

And here is a brief letter to his wife, written during this absence:—

John Winthrop to his Wife.

"To my Deare Wife, Mrs. Winthrop at Boston.

"MY DEARE,—I prayse God we came safe to Salem, though we had very stormy windes. We found all well. I doubt I shall not returne before the 2: daye next weeke, & then my broth: P: will come wth me. The Lo: blesse thee & all o^r familie, & send us a happy meetinge. I kisse thee & rest

"thy faithfull husband,

"J: W:

"SALEM: 9ber: 8^o 1638."

The remainder of the Journal during this year deals mainly with topics of a general nature; throwing no particular light upon the character of Winthrop, except by the manner in which they are introduced or described. Now and then, there is an amusing passage; now and then, a striking incident; now and then, a

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. i. p. 277.

² The date of this letter settles the question discussed in Mr. Savage's note to the Governor's entry of the Salem visit. It is plain that the date (13) in the Journal is that of the day on which he made the record after his return. He must have gone as early as the 7th.

grave reflection ; now and then, a characteristic quaintness of expression, not unworthy, perhaps, of being sifted out from the daily record, and set forth by itself.

Here, for instance, is an edifying entry, under date of September : —

“The court, taking into consideration the great disorder general through the country in costliness of apparel, and following new fashions, sent for the elders of the churches, and conferred with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them, to redress it, by urging it upon the consciences of their people, which they promised to do. But little was done about it ; for divers of the elders’ wives, etc., were in some measure partners in this general disorder.”

Here is another, dated Dec. 13, with a rider dated eight years later : —

“The devil would never cease to disturb our peace, and to raise up instruments one after another. Amongst the rest, there was a woman in Salem, one Oliver his wife, who had suffered somewhat in England for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, though otherwise she was conformable to all their orders. She was (for ability of speech, and appearance of zeal and devotion) far before Mrs. Hutchinson, and so the fitter instrument to have done hurt, but that she was poor and had little acquaintance. She took offence at this, that she might not be admitted to the Lord’s supper without giving public satisfaction to the church of her faith, etc., and covenanting or professing to walk with them according to the rule of the gospel ; so as, upon the sacrament day, she openly called for it, and stood to plead her right, though she were denied ; and would not forbear, before the magistrate, Mr. Endecott, did threaten to send the constable to put her forth. This woman was brought to the court for disturbing

the peace in the church, etc., and there she gave such peremptory answers, as she was committed till she should find sureties for her good behaviour. After she had been in prison three or four days, she made means to the governour, and submitted herself, and acknowledged her fault in disturbing the church; whereupon he took her husband's bond for her good behaviour, and discharged her out of prison. But he found, after, that she still held her former opinions, which were very dangerous, as, 1. That the church is the heads of the people, both magistrates and ministers, met together, and that these have power to ordain ministers, etc. 2. That all that dwell in the same town, and will profess their faith in Christ Jesus, ought to be received to the sacraments there; and that she was persuaded, that, if Paul were at Salem, he would call all the inhabitants there saints. 3. That excommunication is no other but when Christians withdraw private communion from one that hath offended.

"About five years after, this woman was adjudged to be whipped for reproaching the magistrates. She stood without tying, and bare her punishment with a masculine spirit, glorying in her suffering. But after (when she came to consider the reproach, which would stick by her, etc.) she was much dejected about it. She had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour, for reproaching the elders, (6,) 1646."

Here is a third passage, in immediate sequence:—

"At Providence, also, the devil was not idle. For whereas, at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience, now men's wives, and children, and servants, claimed liberty hereby to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, upon the week days; and because one Verin refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams so oft as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company, and withstood it, telling them that, when he con-

sented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, etc., and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene (who hath married the wife of one Beggerly, whose husband is living, and no divorce, etc., but only it was said, that he had lived in adultery, and had confessed it) he replied, that, if they should restrain their wives, etc., all the women in the country would cry out of them, etc. Arnold answered him thus: Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts, because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and commandment of God to please women? Some were of opinion, that if Verin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose her to some other man, who would use her better. Arnold told them, that it was not the woman's desire to go so oft from home, but only Mr. Williams's and others. In conclusion, when they would have censured Verin, Arnold told them, that it was against their own order, for Verin did that he did out of conscience; and their order was, that no man should be censured for his conscience."

And still again the Governor proceeds in the same connection, but in too much detail for our present purpose, to describe "another plot the old Serpent had against us, by sowing jealousies and differences between us and and our friends at Connecticut, and also Plimouth."

The differences with Connecticut were upon a subject of the highest interest to the welfare of all the New England Colonies, and will require a brief explanation. It was during this year that the plan of a UNION among the Colonies, which was destined to be so happily consummated five or six years later, became

first the subject of serious consideration and discussion. It had been broached, indeed, about a year before. Winthrop tells us, in his *Journal* of Aug. 31, 1637, that "some of the magistrates and ministers of Connecticut being here, there was a day of meeting appointed to agree upon some articles of Confederation, and notice was given to Plimouth, that they might join in it, (but their warning was so short as they could not come.)" The plan was not abandoned, however; and now, in August, 1638, we find Winthrop setting forth that "those of Connecticut were very jealous, and therefore, in the articles of Confederation which are propounded to them, and whereby order was taken, that all differences which might fall out, should be ended by a way of peace, and never to come to a necessity of danger of force, they did so alter the chief article, as all would have come to nothing." It thus appears that Articles of Confederation had been propounded by Massachusetts under Winthrop's lead, and that they had been defeated by the opposition of Connecticut. We do not propose to usurp the province of history by entering into the merits of this controversy; but we refer to it as one of the subjects which occupied Governor Winthrop's attention most seriously at this period, involving him in much controversial correspondence with some of the magistrates and some of the ministers of Connecticut, and especially with the excellent Thomas Hooker.

It would be unfair to both parties, or certainly to Winthrop, to give this correspondence in the form in which it has come down to us. Of Winthrop's origi-

nal letter to Hooker we have only a brief abstract, which is found in the appendix to his Journal, and which furnishes but a faint impression of the fulness and force with which he was accustomed to write on such subjects. The long and able reply of Hooker has recently been brought to light in its original form, with only the loss of a page or two at the close, — probably abstracted for the sake of the autograph.¹ Meantime, among the newly discovered family papers, we have found the rough draft of Winthrop's rejoinder, written on the back of an old letter of Emanuel Downing's, but too imperfect to do any justice to its author.²

Winthrop, in his Journal, most characteristically sums up the whole subject of these differences and controversies with Connecticut as follows: —

"These and the like miscarriages in point of correspondency were conceived to arise from these two errors in their government: 1. They chose divers *scores* (?) men, who had no learning nor judgment which might fit them for those affairs, though otherwise men holy and religious. 2. By occasion hereof, the main burden for managing of state business fell upon some one or other of their ministers, (as the phrase and style of these letters will clearly discover,) who, though they were men of singular wisdom and godliness, yet stepping out of their course, their actions wanted that blessing which otherwise might have been expected."

¹ This letter of Hooker's was discovered in our Massachusetts archives by J. H. Trumbull, Esq., of Hartford; and will be found, with some interesting notes, in the first volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Another letter of Hooker's to Governor Winthrop on the same subject, but in a somewhat different spirit, will be found in this volume hereafter.

² This rough draft of Winthrop's letter on so important a subject ought hardly to be lost, and we give it in the Appendix (No. VII.) at the end of the volume.

And there is a passage also, in Winthrop's abstract of his first letter to Hooker, which is not less characteristic, and which has frequently been cited as furnishing evidence as to his political principles. "I expostulated," says he, "about the unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of counsel or judicature to the body of the people, *quia* the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser. The old law was, Choose ye out judges, etc., and thou shalt bring the matter to the judge, etc." A portion of this passage has often been torn from its context, and held up as if it were conclusive evidence that Governor Winthrop was in favor of an aristocracy, and an opponent of every thing that looked towards the power of the people to govern themselves. Yet nothing is clearer than that his language refers only to matters of "counsel or judicature," which not even the democracy of our own days would willingly submit to "the body of the people."

A fair construction of the two passages which we have thus cited would represent Governor Winthrop as of opinion that men "of learning and judgment" were required for matters of "counsel and judicature;" and that no good results were to be anticipated from ministers, even of "singular wisdom and godliness, stepping out of their course to manage State business:" and in these two points we are inclined to think that not a few persons, at the present day, will be likely to agree with him.¹

¹ It is somewhat striking to find how exactly Alexander Hamilton expressed the same views, in advocating a permanent tenure for judicial offices under the Constitution.

So much for what Winthrop entitles the influences of the old Serpent: but other influences beside those of the old Serpent were evidently in operation in the Colony at this period; and, in concluding this chapter, we gladly turn from the works of darkness to those of *day*, in more senses of the word than one, as manifested in the following entry by the Governor, under date of March, 1638-39: * —

"Mo. 1.] A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye,¹ at the charge of Mr. Glover,² who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the free-men's oath; the next was an almanac made for New England by Mr. William Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre."

of the United States, a century and a half afterwards. In the seventy-eighth number of the "Federalist," after speaking of the varied acquirements necessary for the bench, he says: "Hence it is, that there can be *but few* men in the society who will have sufficient skill in the laws to qualify them for the stations of judges; and, making the proper deductions for the ordinary depravity of human nature, the *number must be still smaller* of those who unite the requisite integrity with the requisite knowledge."

¹ We know not whether this Daye was of the same family with John Day, of old England, one of the printers of the Bible in the time of Edward VI., who, in allusion to his own name, adopted the device of the sun rising and the sleeper awakened. See a woodcut of the device. — *Knight's Popular History of England*, vol. iii. p. 13.

² We have already found occasion to state, that the widow of Mr. Glover married President Dunster of Harvard College, and that two of Mr. Glover's daughters became the wives of two of Governor Winthrop's sons.

* The reader will find in the Appendix (No. V.) a brief but characteristic letter of Governor Winthrop's to Thomas Prince, Governor of Plymouth, of about this date, which was found among the Winslow MSS., in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, too late to be inserted *here*.

CHAPTER XV.

WINTHROP EXERCISES HIS REGIMENT. CHOSEN GOVERNOR AGAIN.
JEALOUSY OF THE MAGISTRATES. ANECDOTES. TEMPERANCE
LEGISLATION.

WE have already observed, that Winthrop, in addition to all the other duties which he was called on to discharge, had been appointed Colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment of Militia.¹ The office seems to have been no sinecure. The Governor's Journal gives the following account of a general muster of the Massachusetts militia on the 6th of May, 1639, which proves at once the thorough character of the military organization of the Colony at that early period, and also the personal interest and concern which Winthrop himself displayed in relation to it:—

“The two regiments in the bay were mustered at Boston, to the number of one thousand soldiers, able men, and well armed and exercised. They were led, the one by the governor, who was general of all, and the other by the deputy, who was colonel, etc. The captains, etc., showed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day.”

The general election was held a fortnight afterwards, when Winthrop was again elected Governor

¹ *Ante*, p. 134.

of Massachusetts. The election, however, seems not to have gone off altogether harmoniously, for reasons which the Governor has set forth with great clearness and in great detail in his account of the proceedings. This account is too interesting and too important to be abridged. It throws a flood of light on the gradual formation of the representative system, and of free institutions generally, in the infant Commonwealth. Its commencement is not a little quaint, and many of its passages are highly characteristic. The parenthesis will not fail to be observed, in which the Governor naïvely avers that even those who opposed his election "all loved and esteemed him." If he did not doubt it himself, there certainly can be no reason why anybody else, at this late day, should raise a question on the subject.

"22.] The court of elections was ; at which time there was a small eclipse of the sun. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor again, though some laboring had been, by some of the elders and others, to have changed, not out of any dislike of him, (for they all loved and esteemed him,) but out of their fear lest it might make way for having a governor for life, which some had propounded as most agreeable to God's institution and the practice of all well ordered states. But neither the governor nor any other attempted the thing; though some jealousies arose which were increased by two occasions. The first was, there being want of assistants, the governor and other magistrates thought fit (in the warrant for the court) to propound three, amongst which Mr. Downing,¹ the governor's brother-in-law, was one, which they con-

¹ Emanuel Downing, Esq., who married Lucy Winthrop, the Governor's sister. He was a lawyer of the Inner Temple in London, and was, with Winthrop, one of the attorneys of the Court of Wards. He had come over to New England in 1638.

ceived to be done to strengthen his party, and therefore, though he were known to be a very able man, etc., and one who had done many good offices for the country for these ten years, yet the people would not choose him. Another occasion of their jealousy was, the court, finding the number of deputies to be much increased by the addition of new plantations, thought fit, for the ease both of the country and the court, to reduce all towns to two deputies. This occasioned some to fear, that the magistrates intended to make themselves stronger, and the deputies weaker, and so, in time, to bring all power into the hands of the magistrates; so as the people in some towns were much displeased with their deputies for yielding to such an order. Whereupon, at the next session, it was propounded to have the number of deputies restored; and allegations were made, that it was an infringement of their liberty; so as, after much debate, and such reasons given for diminishing the number of deputies, and clearly proved that their liberty consisted not in the number, but in the thing, divers of the deputies, who came with intent to reverse the last order, were, by force of reason, brought to uphold it; so that, when it was put to the vote, the last order for two deputies only was confirmed. Yet, the next day, a petition was brought to the court from the free-men of Roxbury, to have the third deputy restored. Whereupon the reasons of the court's proceedings were set down in writing, and all objections answered, and sent to such towns as were unsatisfied with this advice, that, if any could take away those reasons, or bring us better for what they did desire, we should be ready, at the next court, to repeal the said order.

"The hands of some of the elders (learned and godly men) were to this petition, though suddenly drawn in, and without due consideration, for the lawfulness of it may well be questioned: for when the people have chosen men to be their rulers, and to make their laws, and bound themselves by oath to submit thereto, now to combine together (a lesser part of

them) in a public petition to have any order repealed, which is not repugnant to the law of God, savors of resisting an ordinance of God; for the people, having deputed others, have no power to make or alter laws, but are to be subject; and if any such order seem unlawful or inconvenient, they were better prefer some reasons, etc., to the court, with manifestation of their desire to move them to a review, than peremptorily to petition to have it repealed, which amounts to a plain reproof of those whom God hath set over them, and putting dishonor upon them, against the tenor of the fifth commandment.

"There fell out at this court another occasion of increasing the people's jealousy of their magistrates, viz.: One of the elders, being present with those of his church, when they were to prepare their votes for the election, declared his judgment, that a governour ought to be for his life, alleging for his authority the practice of all the best commonwealths in Europe, and especially that of Israel by God's own ordinance. But this was opposed by some other of the elders with much zeal, and so notice was taken of it by the people, not as a matter of dispute, but as if there had been some plot to put it in practice, which did occasion the deputies, at the next session of this court, to deliver in an order drawn to this effect: That, whereas our sovereign lord, King Charles, etc., had, by his patent, established a governour, deputy and assistants, that therefore no person, chosen a counsellor for life, should have any authority as a magistrate, except he were chosen in the annual elections to one of the said places of magistracy established by the patent. This being thus bluntly tendered, (no mention being made thereof before,) the governour took time to consider of it, before he would put it to vote. So, when the court was risen, the magistrates advised of it, and drew up another order to this effect: That whereas, at the court in [*blank*,] it was ordered, that a certain number of magistrates should be chosen to be a standing council for life, etc., whereupon some had gathered that we

had erected a new order of magistrates not warranted by our patent, this court doth therefore declare, that the intent of the order was, that the standing council should always be chosen out of the magistrates, etc.; and therefore it is now ordered, that no such counsellor shall have any power as a magistrate, nor shall do any act as a magistrate, etc., except he be annually chosen, etc., according to the patent; and this order was after passed by vote. That which led those of the council to yield to this desire of the deputies was, because it concerned themselves, and they did more study to remove these jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others; for till this court those of the council, viz., Mr. Endecott, had stood and executed as a magistrate, without any annual election, and so they had been reputed by the elders and all the people till this present. But the order was drawn up in this form, that it might be of less observation and freer from any note of injury to make this alteration rather by way of explanation of the fundamental order, than without any cause shown to repeal that which had been established by serious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years without any inconvenience. And here may be observed, how strictly the people would seem to stick to their patent, where they think it makes for their advantage, but are content to decline it, where it will not warrant such liberties as they have taken up without warrant from thence, as appears in their strife for three deputies, etc., when as the patent allows them none at all, but only by inference, etc., voting by proxies, etc."

No one in these days will be surprised at some of the jealousies which were entertained by the people on this occasion. A jealousy of family influence, a jealousy of the encroachment of the executive upon the legislative authority, a jealousy of any infringement of the right of petition, a jealousy of governors and coun-

sellors for life,—all these were just and wholesome. And even that propensity of the people “to stick to their patent, where they think it makes for their advantage,” and “to decline it where it will not warrant such liberties as they have taken up without warrant from thence,” is a propensity not altogether unworthy of respect, as having led to whatever freedom has since been anywhere secured. But all this is matter for history. The following passage from the Journal of the same date belongs more appropriately to biography:—

“The governour acquainted the general court, that, in these two last years of his government, he had received from the Indians, in presents, to the value of about £40, and that he had spent about £20 in entertainments of them and in presents to their sachems, etc. The court declared, that the presents were the governour’s due, but the tribute was to be paid to the treasurer.”

Here, too, is an entry, dated the 26th of the same month, which gives a glimpse of the Governor’s habits on the Lord’s day, as well as of the inordinate length of Mr. Hooker’s sermons:—

“26.] Mr. Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the governour and many others went to hear him, (though the governour did very seldom go from his own congregation upon the Lord’s day). He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on, with much strength of voice and intencion of spirit, about a quarter of an hour, he was at a stand, and told the people, that God had deprived him both of his strength and matter, etc., and so went forth, and about half an hour after returned again, and went on to very good purpose about two hours.”

Here, again, under date of November, 1639, is an account of a “contestation” in which the Governor was

engaged; in regard to the merits of which the reader must pronounce for himself:—

“At this court there fell out some contestation between the governour and the treasurer. Nicholas Trerice being defendant in a cause, wherein Mr. Hibbins, brother-in-law to the treasurer, was plaintiff, for £500, which the searchers took from him in the ship, whereof Trerice was master, and the defendant having answered upon oath to certain interrogatories ministered unto him, (and which were read to him before he took his oath,) and the treasurer pressing him again with the same interrogatory, the governour said, he had answered the same directly before. The treasurer thereupon said, (angrily,) Sir, I speak not to you. The governour replied, that time was very precious, and, seeing the thing was already answered, it was fit to proceed. Thereupon the treasurer stood up, and said, if he might not have liberty to speak, he would no longer sit there. The governour replied, that it was his place to manage the proceedings, of the court, etc. The treasurer then said, You have no more to do in managing the business here than I. At which the governour took offence, as at an injury done to his place, and appealed to the court to declare, whether he might not enjoin any of the magistrates silence, if he saw cause. The deputy governour, at first apprehension, gainsaid it; but, presently, both himself and the rest of the magistrates (for the deputies were without, staying till this cause should be ended) did agree, that he might so do for a particular time; and if the party, so enjoined silence, were unsatisfied, he might appeal to the whole court, who might give him liberty to speak, though the governour had restrained him. So the governour pressed it no further, yet expected that the court would not have suffered such a public affront to the governour to have passed without due reproof, etc. But nothing was done, save only the secretary and some one other spake somewhat of their dislike of it; neither did it occasion any falling out between the governour and treasurer, for the governour held himself suffi-

ciently discharged, after he had referred it to the consideration of the court, so as, if they did not look at it as a public injury, he was willing to account of it accordingly."

Here, still again, is a record for December of this year; which proves that Governor Winthrop's early movement in the cause of temperance, which we have already described,¹ was successfully followed up, until the custom of pledging healths on festive or social occasions was solemnly prohibited by law:—

"(10.)] At the general court, an order was made to abolish that vain custom of drinking one to another, and that upon these and other grounds:

"1. It was a thing of no good use.

"2. It was an inducement to drunkenness, and occasion of quarrelling and bloodshed.

"3. It occasioned much waste of wine and beer.

"4. It was very troublesome to many, especially the masters and mistresses of the feast, who were forced thereby to drink more oft than they would, etc. Yet divers (even godly persons) were very loath to part with this idle ceremony, though (when disputation was tendered) they had no list, nor, indeed, could find any arguments, to maintain it. Such power hath custom, etc."

Undoubtedly, Winthrop had a principal hand in the passage of this order; and a loose memorandum found among his papers contains a sort of syllogistic brief of an argument which he probably made upon the occasion. It is in the following words:—

"(1.) Such a law as tends to the suppressing of a vain custom (*quatenus* it so doth) is a wholesome law. This law doth so, — *ergo*. The minor is proved thus: 1. Every empty and

¹ *Ante*, pp. 52-3.

ineffectual representation of serious things is a way of vanity. But this custom is such: for it is intended to hold forth love and wishes of health, which are serious things, by drinking, which, neither in the nature nor use, it is able to effect; for it is looked at as a mere compliment, and is not taken as an argument of love, which ought to be unfeigned, — *ergo*. 2. To employ the creature out of its natural use, without warrant of authority, necessity or conveniency, is a way of vanity. But this custom doth so, — *ergo*.

"(2.) Such a law as frees a man from frequent and needless temptations to dissemble love, etc. (*quatenus* it so doth) is a wholesome law. But this doth so, — *ergo*."

The order was passed by the General Court, on the 9th of September, 1639, in the following words:—

"Forasmuch as it is evident unto this Court, that the comon custom of drinking one to another is a meere useless ceremony, and draweth [on] that abominable practice of drinking healths, and is also an occasion of much wast of the good creatures, and of many other sins, as drunkennes, quarelling, bloodshed, uncleannes, mispense of precious time, &c., w^{ch} as they ought in all places and times to bee prevented, carefully prevented; so especially in plantations of churches and comon weales, wherein the least knowne evils are not to bee tollerated, by such as are bound by soleme covenant to walke by the rule of Gods word in all their conversation, —

"It is therefore ordered, that (after the publication of this order) no person of this jurisdiction, nor any other person who shall hereafter come into this jurisdiction, (after one weekes residence heare,) shall, directly or indirectly, by any color or circumstance, drinke to any other, contrary to the intent of this order, upon paine of xij^d, to bee forfeited for every offence, to bee levyed by the cunstable, by order from any magistrate, or such as are appointed in townes to determine small causes, upon conviction by confession of the party, or other sufficient testimony upon oath, to bee to the use of the towne, where the

offence shall bee comitted, and of the party complaining, by equall proportions.”¹

And here; finally, as a conclusion of the present chapter, as it is of the first volume of Mr. Savage’s edition of the “History of New England,” is Winthrop’s account of an interesting correspondence which he had with Lord Say and Sele on the subject of an attempt to break up the Massachusetts Colony, and remove it to the West Indies, — a scheme which was afterwards renewed and urged by no less distinguished a person than Oliver Cromwell: —

“It came over by divers letters and reports, that the Lord Say did labor, by disparaging this country, to divert men from coming to us, and so to draw them to the West Indies; and, finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governours than such as they should make choice of themselves, etc., they condescended to articles somewhat suitable to our form of government, although they had formerly declared themselves much against it, and for a meer aristocratie, and an hereditary magistracy to be settled upon some great persons, etc.

“The governour also wrote to the Lord Say about the report aforesaid, and therein showed his lordship, how evident it was, that God had chosen this country to plant his people in, and therefore how displeasing it would be to the Lord, and dangerous to himself, to hinder this work, or to discourage men from supplying us, by abasing the goodness of the country, which he never saw, and persuading men, that here was no possibility of subsistence; whereas there was a sure ground for his children’s faith, that, being sent hither by him, either he saw that the land was a good land, and sufficient to maintain them, or else he intended to make it such, etc. To this letter his lordship

¹ Records of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i. p. 272.

returned answer, (not denying that which was reported of him, nor the evidence of the Lord's owning the work, but) alleging, that this was a place appointed only for a present refuge, etc., and that, a better place being now found out, we were all called to remove thither."

Most gladly would we have given here Governor Winthrop's letter to his Lordship, vindicating New England as the place "God had chosen to plant his people in," and resenting the idea of abandoning Massachusetts for Jamaica. It must have been one of his most earnest and vigorous efforts, if we may judge from the tone of the reply. This reply is happily still extant in his Lordship's own handwriting, dated July 9, 1640; and we give it in the Appendix.¹ Winthrop must have pleaded the cause of Massachusetts with more than common warmth, and plied his scriptural arguments with even an unwonted persistency, to call out so long and spirited an answer. And well may he have done so; for he could not have failed to feel that not merely all the interests that were dearest to himself personally, but all the best hopes of civil and religious freedom for posterity, were, at that moment, involved in the maintenance of the Massachusetts Colony on the soil on which he had planted it.

¹ Appendix No. VIII.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANOTHER WILL. LOSS OF PROPERTY. SYMPATHY AND SUCCOR OF FRIENDS. DUDLEY CHOSEN GOVERNOR. ANECDOTES.

WE turn once more to a brief notice of Governor Winthrop's pecuniary circumstances, which were now involved in sad embarrassment by the unfaithfulness of his steward. We have already seen that he made a will in England, ten years before his departure for America; and it has been given at length in our previous volume,¹ as furnishing the best evidence of his domestic condition at that period of his life. About the close of the year 1639, he appears to have made a second will, which is not less valuable as an illustration of the state of his property and of his family after an interval of twenty years. The testimony it bears to his devoted wife and his dutiful son would alone render it interesting as a part of the family history. But the circumstances under which its execution was postponed, and its provisions finally defeated, give it a peculiar importance to the right understanding of his career and character. It was as follows:—

"I, JOHN WINTHROP of Boston in New England being (through the blessing of the Lord) in good health, yet considering my change approaching and the uncertainty thereof, and

¹ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. i. pp. 151-3.

desiring (according to the good pleasure of the Lord) so to settle the affairs of my family, as when the Lord shall call me to himself, I may neither be troubled with the care of these outward things, nor for want thereof may leave any occasion of strife or evil report behind me, do in the name and fear of the Lord ordain this my last will and testament, though I cannot make it so full and exact as I would in many particulars, in regard of these engagements which now lie upon me, and the incertainty of my estate in England, yet my intent is that this shall stand for the present to be some direction to my executors, etc., till God may please to give opportunity of altering the same in a more clear way.

"First my care is that all my debts and duties be paid, and for that end I give power to my executors to sell the house I dwell in at Boston, and the land beyond Powder-horn hill, and any of my stock and moveables, corn on the ground, my part of the windmill, and interest in the wear at Mistick. And for my dear wife, who hath been a faithful help to me, though I left an estate for her in England, yet being doubtful what may become of that, and having had *L.*400 of it already, my will is, she should be maintained in a comfortable and honorable condition, according to her place, and as my estate will bear, therefore I give unto her half my farm Tenhills during her life, with the use of such stock as shall be left upon it (my debts, etc., paid).

"And for my good son John, who hath always been most loving and dutiful to me, and to my wife, as if she had been his natural mother, and hath cheerfully departed with all his interest both in his mother's inheritance and mine, to a great value, and that without any recompense, I do commend him to the Lord in all that the blessing of a father may obtain for an abundant recompense upon him and his; and I do give unto him the other moiety of my farm Tenhills, with the stock thereupon, and after the decease of my wife the whole, to remain to him and his heirs forever.

"I give to my son Adam my island called the Governour's

Garden, to have to him and his heirs forever ; not doubting but he will be dutiful and loving to his mother, and kind to his brethren in letting them partake in such fruits as grow there. I give him also my Indians¹ there and my boat and such household as is there.

"I give to my son Stephen my moiety of the Isle Prudence in Narragansett Bay, which with his part of the reversion of his mother's estate in England will be a good portion, for it will be fit she should dispose some part of it to her other sons, according to our first intention, and I hope they will all rest satisfied at their mother's disposal thereof.

"I give to my son Deane and his heirs my land at Pullen Point with the 40 acres of marsh on the other side the hill there ; and I must leave him to his mother's care to furnish him with some stock ; and if my land beyond Powder-horn hill shall not be sold, etc., then I give it to him and his heirs.

"I give to my son Samuel my lot at Concord, which I intend to build upon, if God give life and means, and the half of my farm of 1200 acres upon Concord river, and my 3 oxen in Ephr. Child's keeping.

"All the rest of my land undisposed of (there being above 2000 acres still due to me from the country) I give to my son John and his heirs, whom together with my wife I make executors of this my last will and testament, and my will is that all my plate and other household and books shall be equally divided between them ; and my wife to dispose of her part (besides her own jewels and other peculiar things fit for her own use) as herself shall think fit.

"I will that John Gager shall have a cow, one of the best I shall have, in recompence of a heifer his father bought of me, and 2 ewe goats and 10 bushels of Indian corn."

Here, somewhat abruptly, this paper seems to have been brought to a close on the 29th day of October,

¹ The holding of Indian captives as servants, and the disposing of them as property, was not uncommon in the New-England Colonies at this time.

1639. It was finished and signed about eighteen months afterwards, the following paragraph of revocation having been added: —

“My estate becoming since much decayed through the unfaithfulness of my servant Luxford, so as I have been forced to sell some of my land already, and must sell more for satisfaction of *L.*2600 debts, whereof I did not know of more than *L.*300, when I intended this for my testament, I am now forced to revoke it, and must leave all to the most wise and gracious providence of the Lord, who hath promised not to fail nor forsake me, but will be an husband to my wife and a father to our children, as he hath hereto[fore] been in all our struggles. Blessed be his holy name.

“JO. WINTHROP.

“(4) 25, 1641.”

The news of the misconduct of his bailiff in England, by which he was involved in so serious a loss, reached Governor Winthrop towards the end of the year 1639, and was the occasion of much sympathy in the Colony.¹ Not merely the friends immediately around him, but many at a distance, seemed eager to manifest their emotions on the occasion. Gyles Fyrmin, afterwards a celebrated Nonconformist minister in England, writing to him from Ipswich about this time, begins his letter thus: —

“Much honoured and deare Sir,

“But that I think it needlesse (God having more than ordinarie fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what griefe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction

¹ Some account of the manner in which Luxford defrauded Governor Winthrop may be found in the letters of John Tinker, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, vol. vii. pp. 224, 225, 228.

which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to help you beare so great a burthen.”¹

It was about this time, too, that the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, the first minister of Rowley, wrote to him as follows: “You haue, by your long labours, travailes & adventures, deserved much of this lande, & my prayers haue bene of late more than ordinary, & my spirit raised to begge that the Lorde woulde cause all of us to be convinced by the powring out of his graces on you, that you are even that man, whose person & posterity he meanes to make an example to after ages for worth & blessings.”²

In the same strain, about the same time, wrote Emanuel Downing: “I am confident, you hauing spent yourselfe & estate in this honorable service, that it will redounde to your greater credit & honour with God & man, than if you had gayned riches as other Governours doe, both in Virginea & elsewhere, & it will rise up in judgment against extorting Governours, that shall be set over the people in succeeding generations, when yourselfe shall be at rest reaping the fruits of your present labours.”³

And here are two charming letters of consolation and sympathy, — one of them from his worthy friend, John Endicott, at Salem; and the other from the excellent Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, — of which not a word can be spared: —

¹ Hutchinson's Papers, p. 108.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. pp. 209, 210, 4th series. We give in the Appendix (No. VI.) a rough draft of the reply of Winthrop, which may serve to explain some of his troubles at this period.

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. pp. 53, 54, 4th series.

John Endecott to John Winthrop.

"To the right Worshipfull & my truelie honored ffriend Jo:
Winthrop, Esqr. Governour, dd.

"DEAREST SIR, — What construction you may put vpon my silence I dare not conclude, but I hope the best. The wise man saith that a ffriend loueth at all tymes, and a brother is borne for aduersitie. And here is my grieffe, that I cannot shew my selfe either, as I desire or as my dutie binds [m]e. I cannot excuse my not writinge (though not out of neglect). But the present want of a more reall comfort & effectuall expression of my loue & seruice hath hithervnto hindred mee. If I should say I doe not truelie & heartilie reverence & loue you & yours, I should speak against my conscience. Yet I cannot satisfie my selfe with sole verball expressions. But I desire to waite vpon God who will in his tyme bring all our matters to passe, & work all our works for vs. I haue had many sad thoughts about your affliction yet I neuer doubted to this howre of your comfortable deliuerance. I ame thinking sometimes that the Lord is trying of the whole Countrie, not but that hee knowes their hearts &c. well enough, but hee will haue you to see their loues & affecons towards you also. Sometimes I ame thinking hee is vpon the tryall of your selfe in the exercise of your faith & patience & other graces: that as you haue bene beneficiall & helpfull all your tyme since you came over, in the course hee had sett you, now hee will make you beneficiall another way to vs all in an exemplarie cheerefull vndergoinge of Gods afflicting hand in wisdom & patience. Sir let mee say thus much to you, that your last sickness did you not good alone, but many others also, obseruinge the Lords guidinge of your spiritt vnder it: I blesse the Lord I can truely say I gayned by it; & I know some others that exprest the same. This I am confident in. The Lord is now louinge of you deerely, and his corrections are the corrections of a louinge ffather. If hee will haue you to be poore for a little while it is to make you richer hereafter, not onelie heere as hee did Job, but for euer heereafter to all eter-

nitic. I ame glad to heere you are chierfull, yet I know (in respect of others) your cares cannot be a few & I feare griefs also. The Lord our good God in mercie cary you through them to his praise & your true comfort. I should haue bene with you at Court, but I ame aduised by all my friends to stay at home this tyme. And I was the more easilie drawen vnto it, because I finde my selfe worse & worse within this sennight then I haue bene this moneth: my cold which I haue had this moneth or 5 weekes increasing vpon mee, & head out of order vpon euery little wett in my feete. I therefore shall desire you good Sir to excuse mee to the Deputie & the rest of the Court, beseeching the Lord in mercie to sitt amongst you & to guide you all in his feare to doe his will. To whose blessed protection I committ you and rest

"Your Worshippes truelie & vnfeigned, whiles I ame

"JO: ENDECOTT.

"SALEM the 2d of the 12 moneth 1639.

"Myne & my wiefs service remembered to Mrs. Wintrop your deare yoakefellow & to Mr. Jo: Wintrop & his wiefe & our true loves to all yours with you. Your sister's sonne is named after your name — John."¹

Edward Winslow to John Winthrop.

"WORTHY SIR, — Had not the Almighty (who is righteous in the midst of man's unrighteousness) stirred up certain malicious and slanderous persons to defame me with impudent, false and shameless reports, to my no small grief and trouble, I had been with you before this day, knowing right well how comfortable the face of a friend is in such sad conditions as yours at present. How I have been and am affected with those losses and crosses as are befallen you by your unfaithful Servant, he that made the heart best knoweth. But when I consider how unhappy a man may be, in the fullest and most plentiful enjoyment of worldly treasures, then I judge you

¹ Downing.

neerer happiness in the loss of them; not doubting but our gracious God will sanctify his hand unto you, assuring myself it will be good for you in the end. How prone would God's people be to have their hearts ensnared and taken up with the world, and the riches and honors thereof, if he should not sometimes shew us their vanity. He that brought Job so low (after he was humbled before him) blessed his latter daies more than his former. We have to doe with the same God: He can do what he will, and let this be our comfort, he will doe what is best for us: Therefore let us shew forth his praise by patient submitting to his hand, joining there with a diligent enquiry after the cause twixt him and ourselves. I have too often used a foolish proverb, I had rather be envyed than pit-tyed: But I finde by lamentable experience God's word true, that none can stand before envy; and therefore prefer your condition farre before mine owne, whom I conceive to be compassed about with friends. But alas, however a friend loves at all times, now is the time of tryall; and herein (as many other waies) I doubt not but you will gaine by your present condition; which the Lord in mercy grant. What you wrote to our Governor he imparted to me. Few or none of note have come from your parts this way of late, by reason of the season: So that we heare not what order you have taken in your business. If my presence may in any way stand you in steed, you may command it, and my best service therewith. I pray you, Sir, take it not ill that I am thus plaine. If I faile 'tis occasioned by my love, knowing right well how such an unexpected streight may pinch a good estate, which I should be very sorry to heare. Be you and yours saluted in the Lord, to whom my prayers are that his comforts may exceed your crosses: And so desiring your prayers take leave, remaining

"Your assured friend,

"sympathizing with you,

"EDW. WINSLOW.¹

"CARESWELL, this 17th Mo. ult. 1639."

¹ Hutchinson Papers, p. 111.

Here, too, is a letter from Deane Tyndal, the brother of Winthrop's wife, which shows the sympathy which was felt for him by his relations and friends in England, as soon as his pecuniary distress was understood by them :¹ —

Deane Tyndale to John Winthrop.

"To my assured loving Brother Mr. John Winthrop att Boston in New England present this.

"**LOVING & GOOD BROTHER,** — I hope you understand by my letter, & by M^r Tinker what mony I have disbursed since the sayle of your land. I have payd since I received your last letter **XXI** to M^r Kerby, & a 100*l* to Captaine Raynsborow, & I was wth Mr. Harris att the signe of Ratheon Wheale in Gracious Streete to have payd him a 100*l* according to your direction, but he heard nothing of it, nor had no authoritie to receive it, Soe I keepe it in my handes, & since that time I have binn sent to by one M^r Cootman for a 120*l* but haveing no directions from you to pay it him, I did denie him, but I tould him that there was a 100*l* in my handes, w^{ch} I would keepe till I heard whether you would have me pay it him or M^r Harris. I have set downe this 100*l* in my account to you as if I had payd it to M^r Harris, but I doe acknowledge I have it in my handes & will neither pay it to Harris nor Cootman, till I heare from you w^{ch} of them you would have to have it. My Cosin Deane Winthrop not lyking a tedious sea voyage was set a shore att Maligo & is com safe to me in England. I know not whether he can provide to com in this ship but he sayth he will make speede to you. I will send you a boy or two when he coms if I can get them, but I know not what wages you use to give there, nor how long you would have me indent wth them to

¹ A letter from Brampton Gurdon, Esq., the High Sheriff of Suffolk County, England, offering aid from himself and from Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston on this occasion, will be found among the Winthrop Papers, printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. vi. 4th series, p. 565.

serve you. I will doe my best & if I faile in anie thing you must pardon my ignorance. I send you my accounts by w^{ch} you may see what is layd out of the 2300*l* & what is remayning. The mony that is remayning in my handes I desier to keep for my sister, & the younger childrens portions, if you please, but not soe strictly but that if you have occasion to use 30*l* or 40*l* you may have it wth all my hart, for I protest brother I love you from my hart & tender your reputation as my owne. I thank God myselfe & all my familie are in good health. My wife desiers your prosperitie & remembers her faithfull love to you. The Parliament is yet siting & there is an act past for to have a parlament every third yeare. 4 subsidies are granted & the Lieutenant of Ireland is now upon his tryall but nothing yet concluded on. It is reported that the Bishops shall have no more voices in parliament. The Scots are still att Newcastle. What I heare more you shall know by my Cosin Deane. And now desiering the almightie to power his blessings plentifully upon you I rest

"Your assured loving brother

"DEANE TYNDALE.

"ffrom Maplested this 7 of Aprill 1641."

The earliest allusion to this severe private calamity, which is found in the Governor's Journal, is in the way of grateful acknowledgment to the Church of Boston, at the close of the following interesting record towards the end of the year 1639:—

"By this time there appeared a great change in the Church of Boston; for whereas, the year before, they were all (save five or six) so affected to Mr. Wheelwright & Mrs. Hutchinson, & those new opinions, as they slighted the present governor & the pastor, looking at them as men under a covenant of works, & as their greatest enemies; but they bearing all patiently, & not withdrawing themselves (as they were strongly solicited to have done,) but carrying themselves lovingly &

helpfully upon all occasions, the Lord brought about the hearts of all the people to love & esteem them more than ever before, & all breaches were made up, & the Church was saved from ruin beyond all expectation; which could hardly have been, (in human reason,) if those two had not been guided by the Lord to that moderation, etc. And the Church (to manifest their hearty affection to the governour, upon occasion of some strait he was brought into through his bailiff's unfaithfulness) sent him £200."

Governor Winthrop was quite ready, we may be sure, to retire from public service under the immediate pressure of these pecuniary troubles, and thus to secure more freedom for attention to his private affairs. Accordingly, at the next election, he seems to have gladly concurred in the proposition to choose another Governor. His Journal gives the following account of this election, and of the generous conduct of the people and of the court towards himself on the occasion. It bears date May 13, 1640:—

"The court of elections was at Boston, and Thomas Dudley, Esq., was chosen governour. Some trouble there had been in making way for his election, and it was obtained with some difficulty; for many of the elders labored much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and, in time, hereditary. Beside, this gentleman was a man of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country, and therefore it was his due to share in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow. The elders, being met at Boston about this matter, sent some of their company to acquaint the old governour [Winthrop] with their desire, and the reasons moving them, clearing themselves of all dislike of his government, and seriously professing their sincere affections and respect towards him, which he

kindly and thankfully accepted, concurring with them in their motion, and expressing his unfeigned desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occasions, wherein (they well knew) how much he had lately suffered (for his bailiff, whom he trusted with managing his farm, had engaged him £2500 without his privity) in his outward estate. This they had heard of, and were much affected therewith, and all the country in general, and took course, (the elders agreeing upon it at that meeting,) that supply should be sent in from the several towns by a voluntary contribution, for freeing of those engagements; and the court (having no money to bestow, and being yet much indebted) gave his wife three thousand acres of land, and some of the towns sent in liberally, and some others promised, but could perform but little, and the most nothing at all. The whole came not to £500 whereof near half came from Boston, and one gentleman of Newbury, Mr. Richard Dummer, propounded for a supply by a more private way, and for example, himself disbursed £100."

It is well remarked by Mr. Savage, in a note upon this passage, that "this unexampled liberality to Winthrop, in his distress, is a more satisfactory proof of the high estimation in which he stood than could be afforded by the most elaborate eloquence of eulogy."

Yet Winthrop did not wholly escape from the change of favor which so often results from a change of fortune. In the spring of 1641, we find the following passage in his *Journal*, which undoubtedly relates to himself. We know not who was associated with him in the proposed indignity; but the noble tribute of John Cotton must have been an abundant antidote for any sting which such a motion could have inflicted:—

"At this session, Mr. Hathorn, one of the deputies, and usually one of their speakers, made a motion to some other of

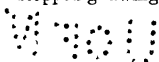


the deputies of leaving out two of their ancientest magistrates, because they were grown poor, and spake reproachfully of them under that motion. This coming to Mr. Cotton his knowledge, he took occasion from his text, the next lecture-day, to confute, and sharply (in his mild manner) to reprove such mis-carriage, which he termed a slighting or dishonoring of parents, and told the country, that such as were decayed in their estates by attending the service of the country ought to be maintained by the country, and not set aside for their poverty, being otherwise so well gifted, and approved by long experience to be faithful. This public reproof gave such a check to the former motion as it was never revived after."

For the present, Winthrop was elected again at the head of the Board of Assistants; and his Journal exhibits no abatement of interest in the affairs of the Colony. There are but few passages, however, during this period, which throw any light upon his personal history. Here is one which gives an amusing illustration of the superstitious credulity which was common to the times; if, indeed, the *quære* which immediately follows it was not intended to intimate that the Governor was himself sufficiently sensible that the event which he so gravely described was more owing to the absence of the cat than to any providential discrimination of the mice:—

"December 15.] About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek testament, the psalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand.¹

¹ This volume is still extant, and is now in my own possession. The mice have stopped gnawing at the close of the Marriage Service, and just before the Order for the



"Quere, of the child at Cambridge killed by a cat."

Here is another passage, which indicates the presence and the condition of the African race in the Massachusetts Colony at this early period:—

"Mo. 2. 13.] A negro maid, servant to Mr. Stoughton of Dorchester, being well approved by divers years' experience, for sound knowledge and true godliness, was received into the church and baptized."

And here is a third passage, of about the same date, which alludes to one of the same race, and gives an interesting picture of the times:—

"A godly woman of the church of Boston, dwelling sometimes in London, brought with her a parcel of very fine linen of great value, which she set her heart too much upon, and had been at charge to have it all newly washed, and curiously folded and pressed, and so left it in press in her parlor over night. She had a negro maid went into the room very late, and let fall some snuff of the candle upon the linen, so as by morning all the linen was burned to tinder, and the boards underneath, and some stools and a part of the wainscot burned, and never perceived by any in the house, though some lodged in the chamber over head, and no ceiling between. But it pleased God that the loss of this linen did her much good, both in taking off her heart from worldly comforts, and in preparing her for a far greater affliction by the untimely death of her husband, who was slain not long after at Isle of Providence."

We close our chapter with a few letters which belong to this period, upon the last of which the reverend pas-

Visitation of the Sick. Winthrop may not have remembered, that Cicero, in one of his books on divination, bestows special ridicule on precisely such a superstition as this. "Nam si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politiam nuper apud me mures corroserunt, de republica debui pertimescere: aut, si Epicuri de Voluptate liber rosus esset, putarem anonam in macello cariorem fore." — ii. 27.

tor of the Boston Church seems to have endorsed a Latin postscript. The younger Winthrop was at Ipswich when these letters (without date) were written : —

John Winthrop, Jr., to his Father

"To the right worll. my much honored father John Winthrop Esqr.
Gov. dd In Boston.

"SIR, — My humble duty to your selfe, & my deare & honored mother. I thank you for your love & kindnesse to my wife & her little ones. I expected them heere by the last pinnace, but I find it, as she hath told me, she knows not how to leave you, nor how to part with my mother, when she is with you ; I desire you would please to lett her returne now. I doubt there will not goe any pinnace from hence this weeke, therefore I pray be pleased to speake to John Gallop to bring them. Joseph Grafton came from Pascataquache the last Sabbath day, there was noe other ship come, but one expected by John Trenorthy dayly ; one is at Richmond Iland. Mr. Marshall & his wife being in a canoe there & one other man with them, the canoe was overturned, but the 2 men holding fast upon the canoe were saved ; his wife was drowned, he having hold of her let her goe to save him selfe : the last day of the weeke there was a man almost drowned here in the narrow river in a canoe, having laden his canoe so deepe with dung that she sunke under him, scarce any waves stirring. An house was burnt heere last weeke in towne. So craving your prayers & blessing I commend you to the Almighty & rest

"Your obedient son,

"JOHN WINTHROP."

John Winthrop, Jr., to his Father.

"SIR, — These calling in this night intending to goe towards Boston to morrow, I am bold to present my humble duty & my wives to your selfe & my mother, desiring to lett you under-

stand y^t we are in good health (blessed be God) wth the rest of our friends here, & at my uncle Downings. Heer is noe news to write you of. Joseph Grafton was on friday sevendnight at Pascataway, having made his voyage hence thither and back againe in 3 daies, but there was noe ship come then to the Isle of Sholes. Just now one came to me y^t came from Quinipiack certifying y^t Mr. Goose was arrived there: Before he came thence he saw my brother Steven there well; the merchants there were about to hire Mr. Goose his ship for England, but this party coming out of the bay, I suppose it is not news to you. Last weeke one having laded his canoe wth wood coming where the sea was a little ruffe, she filled presently wth water, but not sinking right downe he was succoured by another boate & so saved. Goodman Giles of this towne came to me this day & told me he had order for Sergeant Watson by your order to pay me 10 bushells of corne, but having no notice thereof from you, I doubted it might be some mistake. Thus craving your praiers & blessing I comend you to the Almighty & rest

"Your obedient son

"JOHN WINTHROP.

"Myselfe & wife salute our brothers & friends wth you."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my loving Son Mr. John Winthrop at Ipswich.

"SON, — I received your letter & do bless the Lord for your recovery & the welfare of your family. You must be very careful of taking cold about the loins; & when the ground is open, I will send you some pepper-wort roots. For the flux, there is no better medecine than the cup used two or three times, & in case of sudden torments, a clyster of a quart of water boiled to a pint, which, with the quantity of two or three nutmegs of saltpetre boiled in it, will give present ease.

"For the pills, they are made of grated pepper, made up with turpentine, very stiff, & some flour withal; and four or

five taken fasting, & fast two hours after. But if there be any fever with the flux, this must not be used till the fever is removed by the cup.¹ This bearer is in great haste, & so am I. So with our blessing to you & yours, & salutations to all, etc., I rest

"Your loving father,

"JO: WINTHROP.

"This bearer can tell you all the news, which is come from England by the fishing ships, &c.

"Salutem tibi tuæque plurimam in Christo Jesu

"JOHN WILSON."

¹ The Governor, and his son John, and his grandson Wait-Still, seem to have been alike noted, in successive generations, for their medical recipes of divers sorts. The Governor had been fortified for this service by a collection of prescriptions prepared for him by Dr. Edward Stafford, a London physician of that period, of which an admirable account may be found in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society for 1862 (pp. 379-399), by my accomplished friend, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

CHAPTER XVII.

1641. BELLINGHAM CHOSEN GOVERNOR. BODY OF LIBERTIES.
WARD'S ELECTION SERMON. 1642. WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOV-
ERNOR. RICHARD SALTONSTALL'S BOOK. WINTHROP'S LETTERS.

ON the second day of June, 1641, Richard Bellingham succeeded Dudley as Governor, and John Endicott was chosen Deputy Governor. Winthrop, of course, was elected one of the Assistants, and was not wanting to the service of the Colony. It was a memorable year in Massachusetts history, as the following account of the action of the General Court from his Journal will abundantly show: —

“This session continued three weeks, and established 100 laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, (sometime pastor of the church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England, and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law,) and had been revised and altered by the court, and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this court, they were revised, amended, and presented, and so established for three years, by that experience to have them fully amended and established to be perpetual.” *

¹ The “Body of Liberties” will be found, “now first printed,” in the eighth volume, third series, of the Massachusetts Historical Society’s Collections, with a most interesting and valuable account of “The Early Laws of Massachusetts,” by the late Hon. Francis C. Gray.

This same Nathaniel Ward, who will be longer remembered as the author of "The Simple Cobler of Agawam" than even as the author of "The Body of Liberties," had preached the election sermon at the beginning of the session, advancing some doctrines from which Winthrop dissented, and which he discusses at length in his Journal. "In his sermon," he says, "he delivered many useful things, but in a moral and political discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbors, and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and observation, it is probable that by all these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves, than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths."

Other questions arose during the session of this General Court which occasioned much discussion in which Winthrop evidently took a leading part; and his Journal contains many elaborate arguments in regard to them. But we find nothing which furnishes any new illustration of his career or character; and so we pass on without delay to the incidents of another and still more memorable year.

The year 1642 saw Winthrop restored to the Chief Magistracy of the Colony; not however, it would seem, without some heart-burning on the part of his old rival, Thomas Dudley. Perhaps there may have been two versions to the story in that day, as there are to almost every story in our own day. But, if there ever were

two, only one has come down to us; and that is contained in the following passage from the Governor's Journal, dated May 18: —

"The court of elections was. Mr. Winthrop was again chosen governour, and Mr. Endecott deputy governour. This being done, Mr. Dudley went away, and though he were chosen an assistant, yet he would not accept it. Some of the elders went to his house to deal with him. His answer was, that he had sufficient reasons to excuse and warrant his refusal, which he did not think fit to publish, but he would impart to any one or two of them whom they should appoint, which he did accordingly. The elders acquainted the court with what they had done, but not with the reasons of his refusal, only that they thought them not sufficient. The court sent a magistrate and two deputies to desire him to come to the court, for as a counsellor he was to assist in the general court. The next day he came, and after some excuse he consented to accept the place, so that the court would declare that if at any time he should depart out of the jurisdiction, (which he protested he did not intend,) no oath, either of officer, counsellor, or assistant should hold him in any bond where he stood. This he desired, not for his own satisfaction, but that it might be a satisfaction to others who might scruple his liberty herein. After much debate, the court made a general order which gave him satisfaction."

And now we have an account of fresh controversies growing out of the institution of the Standing Council, or Council for Life. Only three persons had ever been elected as members of this body, — Winthrop, Dudley, and Endicott; and it had been virtually abolished, within three years after its establishment, by a formal declaration, that "no person chosen a councillor for life should have any authority as a magistrate, except he

were chosen in the annual elections to one of the places of magistracy established by the patent." But the nominal life-tenure still remained ; and the fewer there were who enjoyed it, the more it savored of aristocracy, and the more jealousy it excited. The Governor shall now tell us by whom and in what form that jealousy was manifested : —

"A book was brought into the court, wherein the institution of the standing council was pretended to be a sinful innovation. The governour moved to have the contents of the book examined, and then, if there appeared cause, to inquire after the author. But the greatest part of the court, having some intimation of the author, of whose honest intentions they were well persuaded, would not consent, only they permitted it to be read, but not to be spoken unto, but would have inquiry first made how it came into the court. Whereupon it was found to have been made by Mr. Saltonstall, one of the assistants, and by him sent to Mr. Hathorn (then a deputy of the court) to be tendered to the court, if he should approve of it. Mr. Hathorn did not acquaint the court with it, but delivered it to one of the freemen to consider of, with whom it remained about half a year, till he delivered it to Mr. Dudley. This discovery being made, the governour moved again that the matter of the book might be considered, but the court could not agree to it except Mr. Saltonstall were first acquit from any censure concerning the said book. This was thought to be a course out of all order, and upon that some passages very offensive and unwarrantable were mentioned, about which also the court being divided, the governour moved to take the advice of the elders concerning the soundness of the propositions and arguments. This the court would not allow neither, except the whole cause were referred also, which he thought sure they would have accepted, for the cause being of a civil nature, it belonged to the court, and not to the elders, to judge of the merit thereof. In

the end, a day or two after, when no further proceeding was otherwise like to be had, it was agreed, that in regard the court was not jealous of any evil intention in Mr. Saltonstall, etc., and that when he did write and deliver it, (as was supposed) there was an order in force, which gave liberty to every freeman to consider and deliver their judgments to the next court about such fundamental laws as were then to be established, (whereof one did concern the institution and power of the council,) therefore he should be discharged from any censure or further inquiry about the same, which was voted accordingly, although there were some expressions in the book which would not be warranted by that order, as that the council was instituted unwarily to satisfy Mr. Vane's desire, etc., whereas it was well known to many in the court, as themselves affirmed, that it was upon the advice and solicitation of the elders, and after much deliberation from court to court. Other passages there were also, which were very unsound, reproachful and dangerous, and was manifested by an answer made thereunto by Mr. Dudley, and received at the next session of the court, and by some observations made by Mr. Norris, a grave and judicious elder, teacher of the church in Salem, (and with some difficulty read also in court,) who, not suspecting the author, handled him somewhat sharply according to the merit of the matter."

The passage from the Governor's history just given would seem to leave it in doubt, after all, whether the subject of the book was or was not referred to the consideration of the elders. But, a few months afterwards, we find the elders in full conclave at Ipswich, and pronouncing solemn judgment upon the whole matter. The Governor tells the story, under date of Oct. 18, as follows:—

"8. 18.] All the elders met at Ipswich; they took into consideration the book which was committed to them by the general

court, and were much different in their judgments about it, but at length they agreed upon this answer in effect.

"Whereas in the book, there were three propositions laid down, and then the application of them to the standing council, and then the arguments enforcing the same: the propositions were these:—

"1. In a commonwealth, rightly and religiously constituted, there is no power, office, administration, or authority, but such as are commanded and ordained of God.

"2. The powers, offices, and administrations that are ordained of God, as aforesaid, being given, dispensed, and erected in a christian commonwealth by his good providence, proportioned by his rule to their state and condition, established by his power against all opposition, carried on and accompanied with his presence and blessing, ought not to be by them either changed or altered, but upon such grounds, for such ends, in that manner, and only so far as the mind of God may be manifested therein.

"3. The mind of God is never manifested concerning the change or alteration of any civil ordinance, erected or established by him as aforesaid in a christian commonwealth, so long as all the cases, counsels, services, and occasions thereof may be duly and fully ended, ordered, executed, and performed without any change or alteration of government.

"In their answer they allowed the said propositions to be sound, with this distinction in the 1st. viz. That all lawful powers are ordained, etc., either expressly or by consequence, by particular example or by general rules.

"In the applications they distinguished between a standing council invested with a kind of transcendent authority beyond other magistrates, or else any kind of standing council distinct from magistrates; the former they seem implicitly to disallow; the latter they approve as necessary for us, not disproportionable to our estate, nor of any dangerous consequence for disunion among the magistrates, or factions among the people, which were the arguments used by the author against our council.

Some passages they wish had been spared, and other things omitted, which, if supplied, might have cleared some passages, which may seem to reflect upon the present councils, which they do think not to be of that moment, but that the uprightness of his intentions considered, and the liberty given for advice, according to the rules of religion, peace, and prudence, they would be passed by.

"Lastly, they declare their present thoughts about the moulding and perfecting of a council, in four rules.

"1. That all the magistrates, by their calling and office, together with the care of judicature, are to consult for the provision, protection, and universal welfare of the commonwealth.

"2. Some select men taken out from the assistants, or other freemen, being called thereunto, be in especial, to attend by way of council, for the provision, protection, and welfare of the commonwealth.

"3. This council, as counsellors, have no power of judicature.

"4. In cases of instant danger to the commonwealth, in the interim, before a general court can be called, (which were meet to be done with all speed,) what shall be consented unto and concluded by this council, or the major part of them, together with the consent of the magistrates, or the major part of them, may stand good and firm till the general court."

And now we come to a newly discovered letter of the Governor's, which supplies fresh illustration of his own views both of the book and of its author, as well as of the Standing Council which had given occasion to the strife. We can only give it from the rough draught, written in Winthrop's least legible hand, and without either address, date, or signature. But it has been kindly and carefully deciphered by the Champollion of the Governor's hieroglyphics (Mr. Savage), who thinks it was addressed either to the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, or

to the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the Simple Cocker of Agawam. Winthrop was as much "without guile" himself, when he wrote it, as either of these Nathaniels could have been; and it is pleasant to find him testifying so cordial a regard to the son of his old friend and associate, Sir Richard Saltonstall. Nor can we doubt the sincerity of his racy remark, that, "for the office of Councillor, he was no more in love with the honor or power of it, than with an old frieze coat in a summer's day."

John Winthrop to —.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I heartily thank you for your loving pains in resolving my objections, which were, some of them, I see, over curious and needless. I am clearly satisfied in that which was the main occasion of my trouble; and your laying open the grounds and reasons of the particular parts of your answer makes it clear to me, that your intentions were sincere, without partiality, and your main aim truth and peace, for which I bless the Lord, and crave pardon for my unsufficient jealousies; and though I cant concur with you in everything, yet, being satisfied in the main, I can well be silent in the rest: the Lord will clear his own truth in his own time.

"For matter of temptation, it may be as you suspect, but truly I cant find wherein the strength of it should lie, for, as for the gentleman himself, he hath ever been, and still is, dear to me, and many friendly offices have passed between us, both former and later, and so we are like to continue (for aught I know.) For the office of C. I am no more in love with the honor or power of it, than with an old frieze coat in a summer's day; therefore, when it was propounded to have the power taken away, I never opposed, but presently drew up the order for it, and shall be as ready to do the like for the abrogation of it, if it be so dissolved. Neither will those speeches I used in the court about the book or the author, (if I might be justly dealt

with, to be heard before I were censured) argue any indulgent affection in me towards the office or disaffection to the author, for I professed my agreement with those that cleared him; only I differed in this, that I would have had it done in an orderly way. I would have had the book first read, and the Court to have determined of the matter of it, before they had meddled with the author; but finding the Court to be bent the contrary way, I drew up an order for his clearing, as full and safe for him as any himself could have drawn. As for any conspiracy against his life¹ or &c. I never heard it (to my best remembrance) so much as propounded by any of the magistrates for that or any other censure, but only that he might be questioned for it. The Lord knows, that that which I write is the truth, whatsoever you have heard to the contrary. If you discern any temptation to lie elsewhere, I shall take it as one fruit of your love to discover it, and help to heal me. So, desiring still to enjoy your faithful counsel and prayers, I heartily salute you, and rest”

On the back of this letter the Governor has written a series of propositions, evidently relating to the same subject, and having special reference, it would seem, to the consultations and decisions of the elders. They are as follows:—

“1. I conceived, that *verum & sanum* were not convertible.

“2. That lawful ordinary power could not be said to be transcendent, only in respect of the officer to whom the dispensation of it is committed.

“3. That though the matter of the scripture be always a rule to us, yet not the phrase, for I should not say, that a man who should sleep 40 hours did sleep 3 days and 3 nights; or that he who breaks one of the king’s laws breaks all &c.

¹ It seems almost impossible that so serious a suggestion could have been anywhere made, yet the word is unquestionably *life* in the original.

"4. I suppose, that an example, or similitude, if it agreed in the thing intended, was proper, though it agreed not in all parts.

"5. That infirmity maintained with obstinacy may prove wickedness, therefore *principiis obstare* might be according to prudence in such a case.

"6. That such a dispensation of power as in the Advice is presented could not be adequate to all the ordinary occasions of the commonwealth.

"7. I could find nothing omitted that might save the author's reputation (being but one of the youngest in authority amongst us) and nothing inserted (more than one word of ordinary compliment) that might vindicate the credit of that Standing Council, though they be 3 to one, and ancientest in practice of government.

"8. I did not conceive, that liberty for advice would have been taken so largely as to be a shelter to all that was in that book, so far as it is applied.

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"That whatsoever is transcendent is above all Rules; and so *also* transcendent power must be above all Laws; and that *can* be no other but Tyranny.

"That such an observation of all the Elders, in so solemn a way, would make us more obnoxious to the people's censure, than all that the book can fix upon us.

"That though the Answer should prove so exact, as it might be written upon (as now it is reformed) *in nullo erratum*, yet it might have been of use to have added some such Apology as might have prevented the misapprehensions of weak judgments."

But this convocation of the elders would appear to have called forth another and more elaborate letter from the Governor, and one of more general interest. Only a fragment of it remains; but that fragment is not without some of the best characteristics of its author's composition. Dated just four days before their session, it

could have been addressed to none other than the elders at Ipswich; and it forms a fit introduction to an account of that great controversy about "the Negative Voice," which agitated the Colony at this time far more than any question about Mr. Saltonstall's book or the Council for Life. We give the fragment as we find it, reserving the account of that memorable controversy for our next chapter: —

John Winthrop to —.

(A FRAGMENT.)

. . . "general Councell of the State only : & therefore, in their first institution, they were appointed as the representative bodye of the freemen ; & therefore, where the people cannot exercise Judicature in their owne persons, though they have power to substitute others, there their deputies are not Judges in waye of such an ordinance : & I feare least this hath been a great cause of Gods withholdinge so much of his presence from us, since that Court hath dealt so frequently in judging private Causes, to which they have no ordinary callinge, that I knowe : for our Saviour teaches us, that everye man that shall exercise power of Judgm^t over others, must be able to prove his callinge thereto. Not that I deny that Court all power of Judicature, (for the body of the freemen may exercise it, in some transcendent cases, where other remedye fayles) but in small & ordinary Causes, which properly belonge to other inferiour courts, I see no Rule to warrant our practice (but of this onely *obiter.*). Now you may judge, how much it concerned the honor of the Court that (when so much blame was layd upon it through the whole cuntrye) it might be knowne, how the opinion & advice of the magistrates, or the greater part of them, stood in the case.

"One thinge more I shall make bould to commend to your wise consideration, as a matter of great concernment : I under-

stande, there is a purpose in some to possess the people with this opinion, that it is the power of the negative vote in the magistrates, that hath occasioned all the late troubles, & therefore they should take it awaye at the next Court of Elections, & because it is knowne that diverse of the magistrates are not like to consent to it, they must therefore be lefte oute (which wilbe very acceptable to some of them) & others putt in their places, &c.

"If it should so fall out, I may bouldly saye, I knowe not any thing could be more dishonourable & dangerous to our State; dishonourable it would be, to take the power from those whom the Country picks out, as the most able for publick service, & putt it into the hands of others, whom they passe by, as the more weak; dangerous also it wilbe, for it will raze the foundation of our Government, so as I can make it appeare, that whatsoever the deputies shall determine without the consent of the greater part of the magistrates, wilbe of no validitie: for if our power be derived from, or have any relation to, our Patent, it is so fixed in the Governour & assistants, as (how many soever shalbe joyned to them, as coadjutors or counsellors &c. yet) the maine strengthe of Authoritye (in point of dispensation) will rest in them, & can by no lawe be avoided, unlesse we will erecte a new frame of Government upon a new foundation, which (I suppose) is far from our intentions. As for the inconveniences, which are objected, they are but ungrounded suppositions, as first This: what if the magistrates should growe corrupt &c? this is no more to be feared, than of the deputies, & if of both, then of all the rest of the people, & if so, then it is past remedye.

"Againe, if the Court of Assistance doe injustice, or mistake in any cause, what help is there, if the magistrates have a negative vote in the Generall Court? To this it may also be answered: what remedye will there be, if the Generall Court should erre, or doe injustice? there must be a stoppe somewhere: yet this remedye there is, if the magistrates have erred it is not unlike but they will hearken to better advice in the

General Court; but if they will not, they may be turned out & better put in their places, & then they may be called to account for any miscarriage.

"The last thing that I will trouble your patience with at the present is about a position maintained in the Countrey (& those none of the worst) that it should be dangerous for the Commonwealth to have the magistrates united in Love & affection, therefore care to be had, that there be no kindred, affinitye, or close amitye betweene them: but that they should rather be divided in factions &c.: If this passe for good doctrine, then let us no longer professe the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but take up the rules of Matchiavell, & the Jesuits, for Christ sayth, Love is the Bond of perfection, & a kingdome or house divided cannot stand: but the others teache (or rather the Devill teacheth them) *divide et impera* &c. I need write no more of this, your owne observation of what advantage hath come to the countrey by the late divisions & oppositions amongst us, will call upon your care and faithfullnesse to putt your hande for tymely preventing the like.

"The ende of my writing to you about these matters, is both to discover to you the dangers I have discerned, & allso to crave your advice & helpe, so far as the power & dutye of your place in the Churches, doth call for it from you: If in any thing I be mistaken, I shall thankfully accept your loving corrections, but for the sinceritye of my heart, & serious intentions for the publick good of all estates, my witnesse is heaven, to whose Judgment I must stande: So earnestly craving the continuance of your prayers, with a thankfull acknowledgment of the many testimonies of your love towards me, beseeching the Lord in my dayly petitions still to owne & blesse yourselves and your labours, for the further advancement of the kingdome of his Sonne in this part of the world, I take leave & rest

"Your brother & fellow helper in the Lord's worke

"JO: WINTHROP.

"Boston (8) 14. 1642."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STRAY SOW AND THE NEGATIVE VOICE.

WE read in the great Roman epic, that, after Æneas had been driven about from island to island, and was almost in despair of finding a place for building a city which should furnish a home for those who had fled with him from burning Troy, he was at length assured that the site of the future Rome should be designated by a white sow, which he should find lying on the ground, surrounded by a litter of thirty young ones, to which she had just given birth.

"Is locus urbis erit; requies ea certa laborum."¹

The white sow, which has thus become classical in connection with the foundation of the greatest city of the ancient world, seems to have been destined to play a hardly less conspicuous part in the early history of our modern Massachusetts. The Governor tells the whole story so well, that it would be unfair both to him and to the reader to attempt any abridgment of his description. It bears date June 22, 1642, and furnishes an excellent specimen of his style of narration.

"At the same general court there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion. Anno 1636, there was a stray sow

¹ Æn. lib. iii, v. 393.

in Boston, which was brought to Captain Keayne: he had it cried divers times, and divers came to see it, but none made claim to it for near a year. He kept it in his yard with a sow of his own. Afterwards one Sherman's wife, having lost such a sow, laid claim to it, but came not to see it, till Captain Keayne had killed his own sow. After being showed the stray sow, and finding it to have other marks than she had claimed her sow by, she gave out that he had killed her sow. The noise hereof being spread about the town, the matter was brought before the elders of the church as a case of offence; many witnesses were examined, and Captain Keayne was cleared. She not being satisfied with this, by the instigation of one George Story, a young merchant of London, and kept in her house, (her husband being then in England,) who had been brought before the governour upon complaint of Captain Keayne as living under suspicion, she brought the cause to the inferior court at Boston, where, upon a full hearing, Captain Keayne was again cleared, and the jury gave him £3 for his cost, and he bringing his action against Story and her for reporting about that he had stolen her sow, recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story upon this searcheth town and country to find matter against Captain Keayne about this stray sow, and got one of his witnesses to come into Salem court and to confess there that he had forsworn himself; and upon this he petitions in Sherman's name, to this general court, to have the cause heard again, which was granted, and the best part of seven days were spent in examining of witnesses and debating of the cause; and yet it was not determined, for there being nine magistrates and thirty deputies, no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two magistrates and fifteen deputies, and for the defendant seven magistrates and eight deputies, the other seven deputies stood doubtful. Much contention and earnestness there was, which indeed did mostly arise from the difficulty of the case, in regard of cross witnesses, and some prejudices (as one professed) against the person, which

blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence. For all the plaintiff's witnesses amounted to no more but an evidence of probability, so as they might all swear true, and yet the sow in question might not be the plaintiff's. But the defendant's witnesses gave a certain evidence, upon their certain knowledge, and that upon certain grounds, (and these as many and more and of as good credit as the others,) so as if this testimony were true, it was not possible the sow should be the plaintiff's. Besides, whereas the plaintiff's wife was admitted to take her oath for the marks of her sow, the defendant and his wife (being a very godly sober woman) was denied the like, although propounded in the court by Mr. Cotton, upon that rule in the law, [*blank*] he shall swear he hath not put his hands to his neighbor's goods. Yet they both in the open court solemnly, as in the presence of God, declared their innocency, etc. Further, if the case had been doubtful, yet the defendant's lawful possession ought to have been preferred to the plaintiff's doubtful title, for *in equali jure melior est conditio possidentis*. But the defendant being of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his course of trading, and having been formerly censured in the court and in the church also, by admonition for such offences, carried many weak minds strongly against him. And the truth is, he was very worthy of blame in that kind, as divers others in the country were also in those times, though they were not detected as he was; yet to give every man his due, he was very useful to the country both by his hospitality and otherwise. But one dead fly spoils much good ointment.

"There was great expectation in the country, by occasion of Story's clamours against him, that the cause would have passed against the captain, but falling out otherwise, gave occasion to many to speak unreverently of the court, especially of the magistrates, and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was thought fit by the governour and

other of the magistrates to publish a declaration of the true state of the cause, that truth might not be condemned unknown. This was framed before the court brake up ; for prevention whereof, the governour tendered a declaration in nature of a pacification, whereby it might have appeared, that, howsoever the members of the court dissented in judgment, yet they were the same in affection, and had a charitable opinion of each other ; but this was opposed by some of the plaintiff's part, so it was laid by. And because there was much laboring in the country upon a false supposition, that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow, one of the magistrates published a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same. It may be here inserted, being but brief."

The declaration here referred to, and which was undoubtedly written by Governor Winthrop himself, was not inserted in the Journal, as proposed, and is not to be found among his own manuscripts. But a contemporaneous copy of it has recently been discovered in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester ; and we have been kindly permitted to print it for the first time in this volume. It is not in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop. We doubt whether even the signature is his ; and certainly the spelling and abbreviations differ widely from those which he was accustomed to use. But it was unquestionably one of the manuscript copies prepared for circulation among the magistrates and people, — that being the ordinary mode of *publishing* papers at that day. It is as follows : —

*"Att the generall Courtt**" (3) 18 — 1642.*

"A breaviate of the Case betwene Richard Sheareman plt. by petition & Capt. Robert Keaine defend^t aboute the title to A Straye Sowe supposed to be broughtt frō Deare Iland about (9)ber 1636

"THE POYNTS IN THE CASE AGREED.

"1 The plt had a Sowe all white, Saue a black Spott vnder the eye of the bignesse of a Shilling & a ragged Eare,

"2 This Sowe was Carryed to deare Iland.

"3 Noe pfe thatt it was brought back. onely pbable itt might be though neare 40 Swine miscaryed there thatt yeare.

"4 The defend^t had a straye Sowe sposed to be brought frō Deare Iland that yeare.

"5 This Sowe was Cryed divers tymes, & many came & sawe her, in the tyme the defend^t kept her, w^{ch} was betwene one & .3. yeares.

"6 The defend^t had before this tyme, a faire white Sowe of his owne w^{ch} he kept in his yarde wth the straye Sowe aboute a yeare.

"7 The defend^t killed one of these Sowes about (8^{ber}) 1637.

"8 The pl^{ts} wife soone after, charged the defend^t to haue killed her Sowe.

"9 The defend^t shewing the pl^{ts} wife the Sowe w^{ch} remained aliue, she disclaimed itt.

"10. Upon Complaint of y^e pl^{ts} wife, the cause was brought to y^e Elders (as matte^r of offence) & vpon hearing all Allegations & the most materiall wittnesses on booth parts, the defend^t was cleared.

"The cause thus rested till (2—1640 and then the pl^{ts} wife brought itt to the Inferyer Courte att Bostō where (vpon a full hearinge) the Jurye founde for y^e defend^t & awarded him about 3^{li} costs.

"12 Now (about 2 yeares after) the pl^{tf} brings the cause (by petition) into the generall Courte declynynge the Court of

Assistants to w^{ch} itt pplye belonged, & declares againe for the Sowe w^{ch} was killed (8^{ber} — 37.)

" THE EVIDENCE.

" *p. pl^t* Two or three witnesses that the Sowe killed (8^{ber} 37 had sume such black spott vnder the Eye & some cutts or ragges on the eare.

" *p def^t* 1 This contradickted by more witnesses (w^{ch} yet may be reaconsiled by other witnesses of the pl^{ts} (viz) that the defen^{ts} owne Sowe had sume such spott there aboute in the skinne butt not in the haire & soe might not be easy to discerne when the haire was thick, but apparent when the heire was off.

" 2 pued by .6. or .7. witnesses whoe then lived in the defen^{ts} famelye, but are all gone since (but one or two) y^t this Sowe was the defend^{ts} owne & bought of one Houghton.

" *p pl^t* ffor the other Sowe, w^{ch} was aliue a yeare after, diuers witnesses that this Sowe had such marks as the pl^{ts}.

" 11 more witnesses (& of as good credytt) that this Sowe (which was the straye) had other markes & not such as the pl^t. claimed itt by.

" Itt was clearelye pued that this was the onlye straye Sowe the defen^{ts} had, that this was offered to be shewed to the pl^{ts} wife before the first Sowe was killed though att another tyme denyed her, for some reasons then alledged by the defen^{ts} & that she was shewed itt after, in thee defen^{ts} yeard & confidently disclaimed itt as none of hers. And now againe, vpon her Oath in the Courtt did claime A sowe by other markes, & not such as this Sowe had.

" ffor A 3 Sowe never spoaken off before this Courte.

" *p pl^t* A wittnesse or 2 that they sawe a 3^d Sowe in the defen^{ts} yarde.

" *p defe^{ts}* 1 This can be of noe waight against soe manye witnesses to the contrarye

" 2 This . 3^d Sowe is not pued to have such markes as the pl^{ts}.

" 3 This might be one of the breede of the other sowes, or

some Neigh^{rs} swine taken in the defen^{ts} garden and kept vp wth his owne, till the owner fetched it awaye.

"4 the pl^{ts} claime & the scope of his Euidence being for the Sowe killed aboute (8)^{ber} - 37 if he faile of that, the Courte is not to seeke out a Sowe for him.

"The whole Euidence is thus Ballanced —

"*p pl^{ts}*. The testimonⁿ consider^d apt amount to a pbable euidence, that the defen^{ts} had & converted to his owne vse the pl^{ts} Sowe.

"*Ball^{ts}*. The testimonyes reaching noe further, maye albe true, & yett the defen^{ts} not guiltye, nor anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}

"*p def^{ts}*" The testimonyes (whither considered aptt or wth the other) afforde Euidence of Certainty, raised vpon certaine grownds, as occasion, opportunitye, familiaritye, freaquencye, &c.

"*Ball^{ts}*. If this testimonye be true, Itt is not possible the defen^{ts} should be guiltye, or anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}

"ffor Instance,

"Joseph wanders alone in the wildernesse, his Coate is founde torne & bloudie, he is never heard off for manye yeares : vpon this pbable euidence, Jacob concluds that Joseph was deuowred of a wilde beast : But when evidence of certainty comes out of Aegipt that he was ther aliue, & Lord of Egipt, the former æuidence was inuailed & the spirit of Jacob reuiued, & now he concluds he was liuing, though he knewe not how he should come thither, or how he should be soe advansed there. Now lett anye impartiall hande hold the scales while Religion & sounde reason give Judgm^t in the case.

"Yett (if neede were) this might be added, that whereas the pl^{ts} wife was allowed to take her Oath for the markes of her Sowe, the defen^{ts} & his wife (being denyed the like libertye) came voluntarelye into y^e Court & solomelye in the preasence of God declared .1. that y^e Sowe w^{ch} was first killed was there owne. .2. that y^e Sowe w^{ch} remained & was shewed the pl^{ts} wife & w^{ch} she disclaimed was the Straye Sowe. .3. that they never had any other straye Sowe.

"This cause (after the best p^t of .7. dayes spent in Examina^{ti}ō & agitation) is by the breakeing vp of the Courte dismissed, not by occasion of A negatiue voate in y^e Magistrats (as is mis-reported) but by a fundamentall & Just lawe agreable to sounde reason as shall appeare (the Lord willinge) in due season: The lawe was made vpon searious consideratiō & Aduise wth all y^e Elders (1) 1635 to this effect.

"Noe Lawe Sentence, &c. shall passe as an act of the Courte, wthout the consent of the greater p^t of the magistrats of the one pte & the greater numbe^r of the deaputies on the other parte.

"There were p^rsent in the courte, when the voate was to be taken .9. Magistrats & 30 Deaputies whoe had all heard the cause examined and argued, soe as noe centance could be legally passed wthout consent of 5 magistrats and 16 deaputies, w^{ch} neither pl^t nor defen^t had, for there were but 2 magist^{rs} & .15. deput^s for the pl^t & .7. magist^{rs} & 8. deput^s for the defend^t the other .7. stood doubtfull. yett was there noe necessitye, that the cause might not haue bene brought to an issue, for eyther the Court might haue Argued the Case againe (by w^{ch} meanes some who were doubtfull might haue come to be reasolue^d or others might haue changed their Judgm^{ts} & soe haue pceeded to a new voate, or else Comittyes might haue bene Chosen, to order the Cause according to Lawe.

"That this is the true state of y^e Case for the substance of itt, as it hath bene considered & allowed, by other of my breethren & Assotiats booth Magistrats & deaputies (wth our pseedings therein & w^{ch} we shall not be ashamed (by the Lords helpe) to avouch & maintaine, before all y^e world, I do heare affirme vnder my hand: dated att Bostō. this .5.-15-1642.

"JOHN WINTHROP go^{er}."

This declaration would seem not to have been decisive of the question; and, in the following year, we find the strife about the sow and the negative voice revived. The Journal of 1643 contains the following elaborate

account of the controversy, concluding with a speech of the Governor's in explanation of some things in his written treatise which seem to have given offence. Nothing, certainly, could be more humble than his confession, or more magnanimous than his apology.

"The sow business not being yet digested in the country, many of the elders being yet unsatisfied, and the more by reason of a new case stated by some of the plaintiff's side and delivered to the elders, wherein they dealt very partially, for they drew out all the evidence which made for the plaintiff, and thereupon framed their conclusion without mentioning any of the defendant's evidence. This being delivered to the elders, and by them imparted to some of the other side, an answer was presently drawn, which occasioned the elders to take a view of all the evidence on both parties, and a meeting being procured both of magistrates and elders (near all in the jurisdiction) and some of the deputies, the elders there declared, that notwithstanding their former opinions, yet, upon examination of all the testimonies, they found such contrariety and crossing of testimonies, as they did not see any ground for the court to proceed to judgment in the case, and therefore earnestly desired that the court might never be more troubled with it. To this all consented except Mr. Bellingham who still maintained his former opinion, and would have the magistrates lay down their negative voice, and so the cause to be heard again. This stiffness of his and singularity in opinion was very displeasing to all the company, but they went on notwithstanding, and because a principal end of the meeting was to reconcile differences and take away offences, which were risen between some of the magistrates by occasion of this sow business and the treatise of Mr. Saltonstall against the council, so as Mr. Bellingham and he stood divided from the rest, which occasioned much opposition even in open court, and much partaking in the country, but by the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders Mr. Saltonstall was brought to see his failings in that treatise, which he

did ingenuously acknowledge and bewail, and so he was reconciled with the rest of the magistrates. They labored also to make a perfect reconciliation between the governour and Mr. Bellingham. The governour offered himself ready to it, but the other was not forward, whereby it rested in a manner as it was. Mr. Dudley also had let fall a speech in the court to Mr. Rogers of Ipswich, which was grievous to him and other of the elders. The thing was this. Mr. Rogers being earnest in a cause between the town and Mr. Bradstreet, which also concerned his own interest, Mr. Dudley used this speech to him, 'Do you think to come with your eldership here to carry matters,' etc. Mr. Dudley was somewhat hard at first to be brought to see any evil in it, but at last he was convinced and did acknowledge it, and they were reconciled.

"The deputies, also, who were present at this meeting and had voted for the plaintiff in the case of the sow, seemed now to be satisfied, and the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their several towns, to the end that that cause might never trouble the court more. But all this notwithstanding, the plaintiff, (or rather one G. Story her solicitor,) being of an unsatisfied spirit, and animated, or at least too much countenanced, by some of the court, preferred a petition at the court of elections for a new hearing, and this being referred to the committee for petitions, it was returned that the greater part of them did conceive the cause should be heard again, and some others in the court declared themselves of the same judgment, which caused others to be much grieved to see such a spirit in godly men, that neither the judgment of near all the magistrates, nor the concurrence of the elders and their mediation, nor the loss of time and charge, nor the settling of peace in court and country could prevail with them to let such a cause fall, (as in ordinary course of justice it ought,) as nothing could be found in, by any one testimony, to be of criminal nature, nor could the matter of the suit, with all damages, have amounted to forty shillings. But two things appeared to carry men on in this course as it were in captivity. One was, the

deputies stood only upon this, that their towns were not satisfied in the cause (which by the way shows plainly the democratical spirit which acts our deputies, etc.). The other was, the desire of the name of victory ; whereas on the other side the magistrates, etc., were content for peace sake, and upon the elders' advice, to decline that advantage, and to let the cause fall for want of advice to sway it either way.

"Now that which made the people so unsatisfied, and unwilling the cause should rest as it stood, was the 20 pounds which the defendant had recovered against the plaintiff in an action of slander for saying he had stolen the sow, etc., and many of them could not distinguish this from the principal cause, as if she had been adjudged to pay 20 pounds for demanding her sow, and yet the defendant never took of this more than 3 pounds, for his charges of witnesses, etc., and offered to remit the whole, if she would have acknowledged the wrong she had done him. But he being accounted a rich man, and she a poor woman, this so wrought with the people, as being blinded with unreasonable compassion, they could not see, or not allow justice her reasonable course. This being found out by some of the court, a motion was made, that some who had interest in the defendant would undertake to persuade him to restore the plaintiff the 3 pounds (or whatever it were) he took upon that judgment, and likewise to refer other matters to reference which were between the said Story and him. This the court were satisfied with, and proceeded no further.

"There was yet one offence which the elders desired might also be removed, and for that end some of them moved the governour in it, and he easily consented to them so far as they had convinced him of his failing therein. The matter was this. The governour had published a writing about the case of the sow, as is herein before declared, wherein some passages gave offence, which he being willing to remove, so soon as he came into the general court, he spake as followeth, (his speech is set down *verbatim* to prevent misrepresentation, as if he had retracted what he had wrote in the point of the case:)

“‘I understand divers have taken offence at a writing I set forth about the sow business ; I desire to remove it, and to begin my year in a reconciled estate with all. The writing is of two parts, the matter and the manner. In the former I had the concurrence of others of my brethren, both magistrates and deputies ; but for the other, viz., the manner, that was wholly mine own, so as whatsoever was blame-worthy in it I must take it to myself. The matter is point of judgment, which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and again by such light as God hath afforded me from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly I can find no ground to retract anything in that, therefore I desire I may enjoy my liberty herein, as every of yourselves do, and justly may. But for the manner, whatsoever I might allege for my justification before men, I now pass it over : I now set myself before another judgment seat. I will first speak to the manner in general, and then to two particulars. For the general. Howsoever that which I wrote was upon great provocation by some of the adverse party, and upon invitation from others to vindicate ourselves from that aspersion which was cast upon us, yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to break out into any distemper. I confess I was too prodigal of my brethren’s reputation : I might have obtained the cause I had in hand without casting such blemish upon others as I did. For the particulars. 1. For the conclusion, viz., ‘now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case ;’ whereby I might seem to conclude the other side to be void both of religion and reason. It is true a man may (as the case may be) appeal to the judgment of religion and reason, but, as I there carried it, I did arrogate too much to myself and ascribe too little to others. The other particular was the profession I made of maintaining what I wrote before all the world, which, though it may modestly be professed, (as the case may require,) yet I confess it was now not so be seeming me, but was indeed a fruit of the pride of mine own spirit. These are all the Lord hath brought me to consider of, wherein I acknowledge my failings, and humbly

intreat you will pardon and pass them by; if you please to accept my request, your silence shall be a sufficient testimony thereof unto me, and I hope I shall be more wise and watchful hereafter.' ”

“The sow business had started another question about the magistrates’ negative vote in the general court. The deputies generally were very earnest to have taken it away; whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise,¹ wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the establishing of it by order of the general court in 1634, showing thereby how it was fundamental to our government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it by many arguments from scripture, reason, and common practice, etc. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away; and yet it was apparent (as some of the deputies themselves confessed) the most did not understand it. An answer also was written (by one of the magistrates as was conceived) to the said treatise, undertaking to avoid all the arguments both from the patent and from the order, etc. This the deputies made great use of in this court, supposing they had now enough to carry the cause clearly with them, so as they pressed earnestly to have it presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of our government; it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the elders; it had been continued without any inconvenience or apparent mischief these fourteen years, therefore it would not be safe nor of good report to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the elders: offering withal, that if upon such advice and consideration it should appear to be inconvenient, or not warranted by the patent and the said order, etc., they should be ready to join with them in taking it away. Upon these propositions they were stilled, and so an order was drawn up to this effect,

¹ No copy of this treatise is found. Winthrop was undoubtedly its author, as we presently find him replying elaborately to the answer to it of which he speaks.

that it was desired that every member of the court would take advice, etc., and that it should be no offence for any, either publicly or privately, to declare their opinion in the case, so it were modestly, etc., and that the elders should be desired to give their advice before the next meeting of this court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and that the advice of the elders might be interposed; and that there might be liberty to reply to the answer, which was very long and tedious, which accordingly was done soon after the court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the elders also wrote a small treatise, wherein scholastically and religiously he handled the question, laying down the several forms of government both simple and mixt, and the true form of our government, and the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the negative voice were taken away; and answered all objections, and so concluded for the continuance of it, so as the deputies and the people also, having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and he who had written the answer to the first defence, appeared no further in it."

The last of the tracts which was written by Governor Winthrop on this important question is still extant. He speaks of it as having been "published;" but there is no reason to think it was ever printed. It was probably circulated in manuscript, for the benefit of those who desired to read it. It is given in the appendix as copied from the original in his own handwriting among the Hutchinson manuscripts in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹

And here ends our notice of this first great constitutional controversy in New England, — a controversy

¹ Hutch. MSS., vol. i. pp. 59-66. See Appendix No. IX.

which involved the whole subject of checks and balances through the medium of two co-ordinate branches of a single legislative body, and which has hardly ceased to be agitated to the present day. The experience of the world, and particularly of our own country, has abundantly justified the general views of Governor Winthrop on the subject; and not even the ingenuity and shrewdness of Benjamin Franklin could prevail upon our American States to try the experiment of a legislative body with only a single chamber.

The result of the whole controversy is thus given by the Governor in his Journal at the beginning of the year 1644:—

“At the same Court in the first month, upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered that the Court should be divided in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves; what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. This order determined the great Contention about the Negative Voice.”

The order of the General Court which “determined the great contention” was passed on the 7th of March, 1644, and was in the following words:—

“Forasmuch as, after long experience, we find divers inconveniences in the manner of our proceeding in Courts by magistrates & Deputies sitting together, & accounting it wisdom to follow the laudable practice of other States who have laid groundworks for government & order in the issuing of greatest & highest consequence, —

“It is therefore ordered, first, that the magistrates may sit & act business by themselves, by drawing up bills & orders which they shall see good in their wisdom, which having agreed

upon, they may present them to the Deputies to be considered of, how good & wholesome such orders are for the country, & accordingly to give their assent or dissent; the Deputies in like manner sitting apart by themselves, & consulting about such orders & laws as they in their discretion & experience shall find meet for common good, which, agreed upon by them, they may present to the magistrates, who, according to their wisdom, having seriously considered of them, may consent unto them or disallow them; & when any orders have passed the approbation of both magistrates & Deputies, then such orders to be engrossed, & in the last day of the Court to be read deliberately, & full assent to be given; provided, also, that all matters of judicature which this Court shall take cognizance of shall be issued in like manner.”¹

¹ Massachusetts Colonial Records, vol. ii. p. 58, 59.

CHAPTER XIX.

GREAT SCARCITY IN NEW ENGLAND. WINTHROP'S ACCOUNT OF MATTERS, AND HIS OWN NOBLE RESOLUTION TO STAND BY THE COLONY. FIRST COMMENCEMENT AT HARVARD COLLEGE.

THE years 1641 and 1642, during which the events described in our two last chapters occurred, seem to have been peculiarly trying times for the Massachusetts Colony. A great revolution was in progress in England, which diverted the attention of the people on that side of the ocean from the plantation on this, and prevented at once the coming over of new colonists, and the transmission of fresh commodities. There was but little money in the infant Colony, and domestic productions of all sorts soon lost their exchangeable value. These circumstances "put many into an unsettled frame of spirit;" and not a few were found ready to desert the infant Commonwealth, and to seek better prospects in other climes. Governor Winthrop's descriptions of this period are among the most interesting passages in his whole Journal, and afford ample evidence that his own spirit was undaunted, and his own resolution, to stand fast by the fortunes of Massachusetts, unshaken. The following extract, bearing date Jan. 2, 1641, contains his first allusion to the approaching crisis. It also explains the circumstances under which his eldest son embarked again for England at this period.

"The parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing: a cow which cost last year £20 might now be bought for 4 or £5, etc., and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc., and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well) and to look out to the West Indies for a trade for cotton. The general court also made orders about payment of debts, setting corn at the wonted price, and payable for all debts which should arise after a time prefixed. They thought fit also to send some chosen men into England to congratulate the happy success there, and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as in former years we had done, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required, for the settling the right form of church discipline there, but with this caution, that they should not seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which were lawful and honorable. The men chosen were Mr. Hugh Peter, pastor of the church in Salem, Mr. Thos. Welde, pastor of the church in Roxbury, and Mr. William Hibbins of Boston. There being no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a passage from thence in the fishing fleet. They departed hence the 3d of the 6th month, and with them went one of the magistrates, Mr. John Winthrop, jun. This act of the court did not satisfy all the elders, and many others disliked

it, supposing that it would be conceived we had sent them on begging: and the church of Salem was unwillingly drawn to give leave to their pastor to go, for the court was not minded to use their power in taking an officer from the church without their consent, but in the end they and the other churches submitted to the desire of the court. These with other passengers to the number of forty went to Newfoundland, expecting to go from thence in some fishing ships. They arrived there in 14 days, but could not go altogether, so were forced to divide themselves and go from several parts of the island, as they could get shipping. The ministers preached to the seamen, etc., at the island, who were much affected with the word taught, and entertained them with all courtesy, as we understood by letters from them which came by a fishing ship to the Isles of Shoals about the beginning of October."

A crisis in the affairs of the Colony seemed now to have arrived; and the spirit of its great leader appears to have been sorely tried, both by the sufferings of the people, and by the desertion of so many of those upon whom he had relied to share his fortunes in adversity as well as in prosperity. The appeal which closes the following paragraphs from the Journal of Sept. 22, 1642, betrays emotions which will awaken sympathy in the breast of every generous reader, while it evinces a spirit of endurance and self-denial on the part of the writer which is worthy of all praise:—

"The sudden fall of land and cattle, and the scarcity of foreign commodities, and money, etc., with the thin access of people from England, put many into an unsettled frame of spirit, so as they concluded there would be no subsisting here, and accordingly they began to hasten away, some to the West Indies, others to the Dutch, at Long Island, etc., (for the gov-

ernour there invited them by fair offers,) and others back for England. Among others who returned thither, there was one of the magistrates, Mr. Humphrey, and four ministers, and a schoolmaster. These would needs go against all advice, and had a fair and speedy voyage, till they came near England, all which time three of the ministers, with the schoolmaster, spake reproachfully of the people and of the country, but the wind coming up against them, they were tossed up and down, (being in 10ber,) so long till their provisions and other necessities were near spent, and they were forced to strait allowance, yet at length the wind coming fair again, they got into the Sleeve, but then there arose so great a tempest at S. E. as they could bear no sail, and so were out of hope of being saved (being in the night also). Then they humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here, etc. Only one of them, Mr. Phillips of Wrentham, in England, had not joined with the rest, but spake well of the people, and of the country; upon this it pleased the Lord to spare their lives, and when they expected every moment to have been dashed upon the rocks, (for they were hard by the Needles,) he turned the wind so as they were carried safe to the Isle of Wight by St. Helen's: yet the Lord followed them on shore. Some were exposed to great straits and found no entertainment, their friends forsaking them. One had a daughter that presently ran mad, and two other of his daughters, being under ten years of age, were discovered to have been often abused by divers lewd persons, and filthiness in his family. The schoolmaster had no sooner hired an house, and gotten in some scholars, but the plague set in, and took away two of his own children.

"Others who went to other places, upon like grounds, succeeded no better. They fled for fear of want, and many of them fell into it, even to extremity, as if they had hastened into the misery which they feared and fled from, besides the depriving themselves of the ordinances and church fellowship, and those

civil liberties which they enjoyed here ; whereas, such as staid in their places, kept their peace and ease, and enjoyed still the blessings of the ordinances, and never tasted of those troubles and miseries, which they heard to have befallen those who departed. Much disputation there was about liberty of removing for outward advantages, and all ways were sought for an open door to get out at ; but it is to be feared many crept out at a broken wall. For such as come together into a wilderness, where are nothing but wild beasts and beastlike men, and there confederate together in civil and church estate, whereby they do, implicitly at least, bind themselves to support each other, and all of them that society, whether civil or sacred, whereof they are members, how they can break from this without free consent, is hard to find, so as may satisfy a tender or good conscience in time of trial. Ask thy conscience if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles, if thou hadst expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there. Ask again, what liberty thou hast towards others, which thou likest not to allow others towards thyself ; for if one may go, another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness, exposed to misery and reproach, and all for thy ease and pleasure, whereas these all, being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Israelites were to Moses, it were much safer for thee, after his example, to choose rather to suffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy ease and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin."

It must have been something more than a fortunate accident which brought the subjoined record into immediate juxtaposition with the passage which has just been cited. It seems as if the Governor must have sought consolation and encouragement under the depressing circumstances of the time, when, as he intimates, "all, or most, were forsaking him," by setting down an event

which could not fail to give cheering assurance of better things in the future : —

“Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge ; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. (8.) 5. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz., all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholar’s ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students’ encouragement, etc., and it gave good content to all.”

This first Commencement at Cambridge, on the 9th of October, 1642, must have been a proud day for the infant Colony, and for all who had been concerned in founding its institutions. Winthrop had been second to no one in promoting the establishment of the College, even before the immortal John Harvard had made the bequest which has linked his own name for ever with this great University of New England. Mr. Everett did no more than justice to the Governor, when, in his admirable Address as President of the Harvard Second-Centennial Festival in 1836, he so felicitously represented him as making the speech which led the Legislature of the infant Colony to vote the original endowment under which the College was established.¹ President Quincy, in his History of the University, is hardly less emphatic in his tribute to Winthrop, as one of the earliest benefactors of the institution : —

“Next to Harvard,” says he, “John Winthrop, the leader of the Massachusetts Colony, and seven [twelve] times its elected

¹ Everett’s Orations, vol. ii. pp. 173-6.

Governor, deserves grateful commemoration. The loss of property, from the sacrifices he had made in support of the Colony, or from unfaithfulness in those to whom he had intrusted his affairs, deprived him, indeed, of the means of great pecuniary benefactions; but his donation of books was large and valuable. In that early day, forty volumes¹ made an important addition to the library of the institution. A list of these is yet preserved in its archives. His name and influence were always given in its support. There is, probably, no one to whose patronage the College was more indebted, during the period of its infancy and consequent weakness and dependence.”²

But the commercial and pecuniary embarrassments of the Colony had not yet reached their full development; and, at the beginning of the year 1643, we find this striking picture of the destitute condition of the people:—

“Corn was very scarce all over the country, so as by the end of the 2d month, many families in most towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish, etc., and sure this came by the just hand of the Lord, to punish our ingratitude and covetousness. For corn being plenty divers years before, it was so undervalued, as it would not pass for any commodity: if one offered a shop keeper corn for any thing, his answer would be, he knew not what to do with it. So for laborers and artificers; but now they would have done any work, or parted with any commodity, for corn. And the husbandman, he now made his advantage, for he would part with no corn, for the most part, but for ready money or for cattle, at such a price as should be 12d. in the bushel more to him than ready money. And indeed it was a very sad thing to see how little of a public spirit appeared in the country, but of self-love too much. Yet there were some here and there, who were men of another spirit, and were willing to abridge

¹ For a list of these books, see Appendix No. X.

² Quincy's Hist. of Harvard University, vol. 1, p. 162-3.

themselves, that others might be supplied. The immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest; also, the pigeons came in such flocks, (above 10,000 in one flock,) that beat down, and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of English grain; much corn spent in setting out the ships, ketches, etc., lastly there were such abundance of mice in the barns, that devoured much there. The mice also did much spoil in orchards, eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow, so as never had been known the like spoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows."

We have seen, in the first of our citations from the Governor's Journal in this chapter, that John Winthrop, Jr., had sailed for England on the 3d of August, 1641; and here, towards the close of the following year, we have a letter to him from his mother. It is the last letter of Margaret Winthrop's that has survived the lapse of time. It seems to have been sent by her son Stephen, who, as we shall see hereafter, was soon engaged in public service, military and civil, in the mother country, and never again returned to New England. Margaret's letter, with which we conclude our chapter, shows, that she, as well as her husband, knew how to keep up a brave heart and a hopeful spirit amid all the troubles by which she was surrounded.

Margaret Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To my good Sonne Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., in London.

"LOVING SONNE, — Your long abcence gives me opertuntye of manyfestinge my love to you, w^{ch} I have too much ne-

glected by the former shippes, expectinge yo^r desyred presence longe before this time ; but we must wayt still, till God see good to let us enjoy you. I have sent my sonne Stephen to despach some businesse w^{ch} he wil acquaint you with, and I hope we shall, in God's time, see you both to our comfort. Your wife thinkes longe for your cominge, yet it pleseth God to help hir to beare it prety cherfully ; hir little boye is so mery that it puteth away many a sad thought from his mother. When I thinke of the trublesome times and manyfolde destractions that are in our native Contrye I thinke we doe not pryse our happinesse heare as we have cause, that we should be in peace when so many troubles are in most places of the world. I wish we ware more sensible of the calamities of others that we myte crye the more mytylye to God for them. I have no ocasion of businese to troble you with ; I received a box with some aparel, and I doe thanke you for your care. My brother rote me word he woulde paye for them, I pray let Mr. Sm[ith] send him his bill, if he have not ; and thus desyringe the Lord to preserve you in these perylous tymes, I commend my best affections to you & rest,

" Your loving mother

" MAR : WINTHROP.

" Boston, 8^{ber} 10 : 1642."

CHAPTER XX.

WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR. THE NEW-ENGLAND CONFEDERATION. THE LA TOUR AND D'AULNAY CONTROVERSY. BEAUTIFUL LETTER OF WINTHROP TO HIS SON.

POLITICAL sermons seem to have had very poor success in the early days of Massachusetts. The Election Sermon, particularly, appears to have been often the subject of sharp controversy, and not unfrequently to have been the precursor, if not the cause, of the precise event which it aimed at averting. We have seen, that when, in 1634, John Cotton preached against rotation in office, Winthrop was immediately left out of the Chief Magistracy; and now in 1643, when Ezekiel Rogers declaimed with vehemency against choosing the same man twice in succession, Winthrop was forthwith re-elected. Here is the record from his own Journal:—

"Mo. 3. 10.] Our court of elections was held, when Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, pastor of the church in Rowley, preached. He was called to it by a company of freemen, whereof the most were deputies chosen for the court, appointed, by order of the last court, to meet at Salem about nomination of some to be put to the vote for the new magistrates. Mr. Rogers, hearing what exception was taken to this call, as unwarrantable, wrote to the governour for advice, etc., who returned him answer: That he did account his calling not to be suffi-

cient, yet the magistrates were not minded to strive with the deputies about it, but seeing it was noised in the country, and the people would expect him, and that he had advised with the magistrates about it, he wished him to go on. In his sermon he described how the man ought to be qualified whom they should choose for their governour, yet dissuaded them earnestly from choosing the same man twice together, and expressed his dislike of that with such vehemency as gave offence. But when it came to trial, the former governour, Mr. Winthrop, was chosen again, and two new magistrates, Mr. William Hibbins and Mr. Samuel Simons."

The next paragraph of the Journal furnishes an account of one of the most memorable events in the early history of our country; viz., the formation of that old New-England Union and Confederation, by written articles of agreement, which is the original and pattern of whatever unions or confederations have since been proposed or established on the American continent. It was adopted by only four colonies, and these four were not long afterwards consolidated into two; but it embodied principles, and recognized rights, and established precedents, which have entered largely into the composition of all subsequent instruments of union.

Winthrop, as we have seen in a previous chapter, had originated this plan of confederation in 1637. He was now at the head of the Commissioners for Massachusetts in framing it, and was its first President after it was organized. The spirit which finally led to its adoption after so many years of controversy, and the only spirit in which such political unions can ever be formed or preserved, is well expressed by the Gover-

nor when he says: "Being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded each to other in such things as tended to common utility, &c." But we must not omit any part of the following brief but edifying account of its formation:—

"At this court came the commissioners from Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, viz., from Plymouth Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Collier, from Connecticut Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins, with whom Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook joined, from New Haven Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Grigson. Our court chose a committee to treat with them, viz., the governor and Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Bradstreet, being of the magistrates; and of the deputies, Captain Gibbons, Mr. Tyng the treasurer, and Mr. Hathorn. These coming to consultation encountered some difficulties, but being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded each to other in such things as tended to common utility, etc., so as in some two or three meetings they lovingly accorded upon these ensuing articles, which, being allowed by our court, and signed by all the commissioners, were sent to be also ratified by the general courts of other jurisdictions; only Plymouth commissioners, having power only to treat, but not to determine, deferred the signing of them till they came home, but soon after they were ratified by their general court also."

Winthrop evinced the importance which he attached to this instrument by inserting the whole of it in his Journal, from which it has been frequently copied into other works. It is not a little striking, that the clause of the Constitution of the United States providing for the delivery of fugitives, and which has recently been the occasion of so much agitation and controversy, was evidently borrowed from one of the articles of this

old original New-England instrument of confederation. Here it is:—

“It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any of these confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, upon certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof: And that upon the escape of any prisoner or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrate, or some of them of the jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or other person who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.”

We know not how far this memorable provision was effective within the limits of the confederation; but here is a letter from Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to the “Governor of New England,” bearing testimony to the importance of its general principles, and calling for their application upon a larger scale:—

“Worthy Sir,

“Having received intelligence and complaint from Mr. John Chew, merchant, that certaine of his servants being run away about May, 1643, and are now resident in your collony of New England, I desire you will please to assist this Gentle-

man, the bearer, in the regaining of them by all possible means that may be, it being but an accustomed favour reciprocally shown upon all occasions, eyther to other, in which at noe tyme we shall be defective as we expect the like from you; he hath made it appear in Court they are his servants; their names are Walter Joy, William Woodhead, and Henry King, alias Eny, soe not doubting of your assistance herein I rest,

“Your Servant,

“WILLIAM BERKELEY.

“Virginia, 12th June, 1644.”

It would be curious to ascertain whether these servants were ever returned, and whether they were white or black, apprentices or slaves. The suggestion, that it was “but an accustomed favor reciprocally shown upon all occasions,” will not fail to be observed; and the statement, “he hath made it appear in Court they are his servants,” is certainly suggestive of an important security in such cases. But most happily, while these pages are passing through the press, the subject has ceased to be a practical one, and the return of fugitives has terminated with the total abolition of slavery in our land.

Before leaving the subject, however, of the old New-England confederation, we must give our readers the privilege of reading the noble tribute to Governor Winthrop which was paid by Thomas Hooker, the eminent minister of Connecticut, in a letter written to acknowledge the services of Winthrop in establishing this union of the Colonies. If there had been any disagreement between these great and good men heretofore, it was now clearly at an end; and Winthrop

must have been rewarded for all his labors by so glowing an expression of gratitude from such a source:—

Thomas Hooker to John Winthrop.

“To his much Honoured freind John Wyntropp Esquier, Governor of the plantations in the Matcheshusets Bay, dd.

“MUCH HONORED IN OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR,—At the returne of our Magistrates, when I vnderstood the gratiuous & desired successe of ther indeavor, and by the ioynnt relation of them all, not only your christian readines, but enlarged faythfullnes in an especiall manner to promote so good a work; though the appearance of flattery (if I know my self & be knowne to you) be not only crosse to my conscience but to my disposition, yet my heart would not suffer me but as vnfeynedly to acknowledge the Lords goodnes, so affectionately to remember your candid & cordiall cariage in a matter of so great consequence; laboring by your speciall prudence to settle a foundation of safety and prosperity in succeeding ages: a work which will be found not only for your comfort, but for your crowne at the great day of your account. Its the greatest good that can befall a man in this world, to be an instrument vnder God to do a great deale of good. To be the repayer of the breach, was of old counted matter of highest prayse & acceptance with God & man: much more to be a meanes, not only to mayntayne peace & truth in your dayes, but to leave both, as a legacy to those that come after, vntill the coming of the Sonne of God in the clouds.

“I know my place & I would not abuse your pacience, or hynder greater imployments: my ayme is nakedly this; to be in the number, & to have my voice with those, that whyle your self & your faythfull Assistants, (as Zerubbabell & his fellow helpers) be laying the first stone of the foundation of this combynation of peace, I may crye grace, grace, to your indeavors. And by presenting the worth and acceptablenes of the work before you, to strengthen your hands,

& encourage your hearts to proceed on with blessing & successe. Goe on therefore (worthy Sir) & be ever enlarged in such worthy services, & the God of truth & peace will ever be with you, which he desires dayly to begg, who desires to be

"Yours in all due respect THO: HOOKER:

"The 15th of the 5th mon: 1642: SEA-BROOKE:

In this same year too, (1643), occurred the memorable controversy about the treatment of La Tour, which involved many of the same considerations, and excited many of the same prejudices and jealousies, which have more recently occupied the public mind in reference to Papists and foreigners. Governor Winthrop was on the liberal side in this case, and subjected himself to no little censure by his friendly reception of the distinguished Roman-Catholic stranger, and by the aid and comfort which he afforded him. He tells the long story in his Journal, and gives the *pros* and *cons* of the question with great particularity. We do not propose to follow him in detail; but the introductory account is too characteristic, both of him and of the times, to bear abridgment.

"4. 12.] Mr. La Tour arrived here in a ship of 140 tons, and 140 persons. The ship came from Rochelle, the master and his company were protestants. There were two friars and two women sent to wait upon La Tour his lady. They came in with a fair wind, without any notice taken of them. They took a pilot out of one of our boats at sea, and left one of their men in his place. Capt. Gibbons' wife and children passed by the ship as they were going to their farm, but being discovered to La Tour by one of his gentlemen who knew her, La Tour manned out a shallop, which he towed after him to go speak with her. She seeing such a company of

strangers making towards her, hastened to get from them, and landed at the governour's garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the governour and his wife, and two of his sons, and his son's wife, and after mutual salutations he told the governour the cause of his coming, viz. that this ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulnay, his old enemy, had so blocked up the river to his fort at St. John's, with two ships and a galliot, as his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night in his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. The governour answered that he could say nothing to it till he had conferred with other of the magistrates; so after supper he went with him to Boston in La Tour's boat, having sent his own boat to Boston to carry home Mrs. Gibbons. Divers boats, having passed by him, had given notice hereof to Boston and Charlestown, his ship also arriving before Boston, the towns betook them to their arms, and three shallops with armed men came forth to meet the governour and to guard him home. But here the Lord gave us occasion to take notice of our weakness, etc., for if La Tour had been ill minded towards us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again; for coming by our castle and saluting it, there was none to answer him, for the last court had given order to have the castle-Island deserted, a great part of the work being fallen down, etc., so as he might have taken all the ordnance there. Then, having the governour and his family, and Captain Gibbons' wife, etc., in his power, he might have gone and spoiled Boston, and having so many men ready, they might have taken two ships in the harbor, and gone away without danger or resistance, but his neglecting this opportunity gave us assurance of his true meaning. So being landed at Boston, the governour, with a sufficient guard, brought him to his lodging at Captain Gibbons'. This gave further assurance that he intended us no evil, because he voluntarily put his person in our power. The next day the governour called together

such of the magistrates as were at hand, and some of the deputies, and propounding the cause to them, and La Tour being present, and the captain of his ship, etc., he showed his commission, which was fairly engrossed in parchment under the hand and seal of the Vice Admiral of France, and grand prior, etc., to bring supply to La Tour, whom he styled his majesty's lieutenant general of L'Acadye, and also a letter from the agent of the company of France to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulnay against him, and advising him to look to himself, etc., and superscribed to him as lieutenant general, etc. Upon this it appeared to us, (that being dated in April last,) that notwithstanding the news which D'Aulnay had sent to our governor the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, etc., yet he stood in good terms with the state of France, and also with the company. Whereupon, though we could not grant him aid without advice of the other commissioners of our confederacy, yet we thought it not fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him; and accordingly we answered him that we would allow him a free mercate, that he might hire any ships which lay in our harbor, etc. This answer he was very well satisfied with and took very thankfully; he also desired leave to land his men, that they might refresh themselves, which was granted him, so they landed in small companies, that our women, etc., might not be affrighted by them. This direction was duly observed.

"But the training day at Boston falling out the next week, and La Tour having requested that he might be permitted to exercise his soldiers on shore, we expected him that day, so he landed 40 men in their arms, (they were all shot). They were brought into the field by our train band, consisting of 150, and in the forenoon they only beheld our men exercise. When they had dined, (La Tour and his officers with our officers, and his soldiers invited home by the private soldiers,) in the afternoon they were permitted to exercise, (our governor and other of the magistrates coming then

into the field,) and all ours stood and beheld them. They were very expert in all their postures and motions.

"When it was near night, La Tour desired our governour that his men might have leave to depart, which being granted, his captain acquainted our captain therewith, so he drew our men into a march, and the French fell into the middle. When they were to depart, they gave a volley of shot and went to their boat, the French showing much admiration to see so many men of one town so well armed and disciplined, La Tour professing he could not have believed it, if he had not seen it. Our governour and others in the town entertained La Tour and his gentlemen with much courtesy, both in their houses and at table. La Tour came duly to our church meetings, and always accompanied the governour to and from thence, who all the time of his abode here was attended with a good guard of halberts and musketeers. Those who engrossed the ships, understanding his distress, and the justice of his cause, and the magistrates' permission, were willing to be entertained by him.

"But the rumor of these things soon spreading through the country, were diversely apprehended, not only by the common sort, but also by the elders, whereof some in their sermons spoke against their entertainment, and the aid permitted them; others spake in the justification of both. One [*blank*,] a judicious minister, hearing that leave was granted them to exercise their men in Boston, out of his fear of popish leagues and care of our safety, spake as in way of prediction, that, before that day were ended, store of blood would be spilled in Boston. Divers also wrote to the governour, laying before him great dangers, others charging sin upon the conscience in all these proceedings; so as he was forced to write and publish the true state of the cause, and the reasons of all their proceedings, which satisfied many, but not all. Also, the masters and others, who were to go in the ships, desired advice about their proceedings, etc. whereupon the governour appointed another meeting, to which all

the near magistrates and deputies, and the elders also were called, and there the matter was debated upon these heads.

"1. Whether it were lawful for Christians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them?

"2. Whether it were safe for our state to suffer him to have aid from us against D'Aulnay?"

The arguments on these heads will be found at great length in Winthrop's "History of New England," with abundant references to Scripture precedents; but they may well be omitted from this volume.

The result of all the controversy about La Tour is told by the Governor, under date of July 14, as follows:—

"5. 14.] In the evening La Tour took ship, the governour and divers of the chief of the town accompanying him to his boat. There went with him four of our ships and a pinnace. He hired them for two months, the chiefest, which had 16 pieces of ordnance, at 200 pounds the month; yet she was of but 100 tons, but very well manned and fitted for fight, and the rest proportionable. The owners took only his own security for their pay. He entertained also about 70 land soldiers, volunteers, at 40s. per month a man, but he paid them somewhat in hand."

And here, under the same date, we find the Governor, in most characteristic style, making acknowledgment of the errors he had committed in the management of this affair:—

"Three errors the governour, etc., committed in managing this business. 1. In giving La Tour an answer so suddenly (the very next day after his arrival). 2. In not advising with any of the elders, as their manner was in matters of less consequence. 3. In not calling upon God, as they were

wont to do in all public affairs, before they fell to consultation, etc.

"The occasions of these errors were, first, their earnest desire to despatch him away, and conceiving at first they should have given him the same answer they gave his lieutenant the last year, for they had not then seen the Vice Admiral's commission. 2. Not then conceiving any need of counsel, the elders never came into the governour's thoughts. 3. La Tour and many of the French coming into them at first meeting, and some taking occasion to fall in parley with them, there did not appear then a fit opportunity for so solemn an action as calling upon God, being in the midst of their business before they were aware of it. But this fault hath been many times found in the governour to be oversudden in his resolutions, for although the course were both warrantable and safe, yet it had beseeemed men of wisdom and gravity to have proceeded with more deliberation and further advice."

This acknowledgment of the Governor's, it will be perceived, has reference only to the mode in which he had conducted the affair, and not to the substantial merits of the question. He appears to have adhered to the opinion, that the course he adopted was "warrantable and safe," and to have been ready to defend this opinion against all who questioned it. An opportunity soon occurred, which he describes as follows:—

"Those about Ipswich, etc., took great offence at these proceedings, so as three of the magistrates and the elders of Ipswich and Rowley, with Mr. Nathaniel Ward, wrote a letter to the governour and assistants in the bay, and to the elders here, protesting against the proceedings, and that they would be innocent of all the evil which might ensue, etc., with divers arguments against it, whereof some were weighty,

but not to the matter, for they supposed we had engaged the country in a war, as if we had permitted our ships, etc., to fight with D'Aulnay, whereas we only permitted them to be hired by La Tour to conduct him home. The governour made answer to this protestation, so did Mr. Dudley and the pastor of Boston.¹

The Governor's answer to the Ipswich letter about La Tour is a vigorous piece of composition of great length, concluding as follows:—

"More I might add: All amounts to this summe, the Lord hath brought us hither, through the swelling seas, through perills of pyrates, tempests, leakes, fires, rocks, sands, diseases, starvings, and hath here preserved us these many yeares from the displeasure of Princes, the envy and rage of Prelates, the malignant plots of Jesuits, the mutinous contentions of discontented persons, the open and secret attempts of barbarous Indians, the seditious and undermineing practices of hereticall false brethren; and is our confidence and courage all swallowed up in the feare of one D'Aulnay? Admit we should have stepped aside out of our way, doth the favour and protection of our God wholly depend upon our perfect walking? Were we never out of our way before, under all our former mercies and deliverances? Did Abraham, Isaack, Jacob, David, Jehosaphat, the people of Israel, Judas, and others, never find protection and deliverance, when, by infirmity, they were found to be out of their way? If they did, why may not we still seeke and hope for the like, seeing the Lords mercies indure for ever? For my part, (if there were not other sins, which God may have a controversie with us for) I should little feare any harme from this. If any breach were made in our peace, this is not the way to make it up. We may bring more displeasure and danger upon ourselves, by the divisions and breaches of rule which may be occasioned by our unseasonable striveings about that which

¹ These valuable papers, are preserved in Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 115-134.

is now past remedie, than would otherwise arise from any miscarriage in the business itselfe, in the worst construction that can be made thereof.

"The feare of man bringeth a snare ; but he that trusteth in the Lord shall be safe. — Prov. xxix. 24.

" J. W. G." ¹

This controversy about La Tour and D'Aulnay created much ill feeling in the Colony ; and Governor Winthrop's course was, in some quarters, the subject of severe animadversion. It involved serious questions of neutrality and intervention like those which are agitating the public mind so deeply at the present day ; and we are by no means sure that it would stand the test of modern international law. On the contrary, it seems in direct conflict with the doctrines which we have called on others to enforce, and sometimes, unhappily, called in vain. But it is pleasant to find, in the correspondence of the time, such abundant evidence that those who differed from Winthrop most widely were prompt to do justice to his motives, and to disclaim all personal unkindness. Both Endicott and Bradstreet, who had dissented from his course on the subject, and the latter of whom was one of the signers of the Ipswich Protest, were among the earliest and the most earnest in their assurances of undiminished confidence and regard. ²

We conclude this chapter with the fragment of an exquisite letter from Governor Winthrop to his son John, bearing date in this same year, 1643, and which

¹ John Winthrop, Governor.

² See Letters from both, in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 120, 132.

seems to have fallen into the possession of Cotton Mather, and then to have disappeared. We know nothing of it except from this fragment, contained in the "*Magnalia*;"¹ but this is enough to shed a flood of light upon the characters and fortunes of both father and son. No reader can help regretting that a word of such a letter should have been omitted.

John Winthrop to his Son.

[FRAGMENT.]

"You are the chief of two families; I had by your mother three sons and three daughters, and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things, and learn wisdom thereby, which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you: and for which this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which hath here prospered so well, through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence as I often do take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendred unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you, nor forsake you.—My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my

¹ Book ii. chap. 11.

care has been more for thee than for my self. But I know thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but upon the blessing of our Heavenly Father ; neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation ; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate, as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine Providence together, you shall find great advantage. — The Lord hath brought us to a good land ; a land, where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all, the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labour, therefore, my good son, to increase your thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travails abroad, from being infected with the vices of those countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers). Let Him have the honor of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favour in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land ; he it was who saved thee in all perils ; and he it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art ; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children ; and hath hitherto provided liberally for you all : and therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him for the time to come. Love and prize that word of truth, which only makes known to you the precious and eternal thoughts and councils of the light inaccessible. Deny your own wisdom, that you may find his ; and esteem it the greatest honour to lye under the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified, without which you can never enter into the secrets of his tabernacle, nor enjoy those sweet things which eye hath not

seen, nor ear heard, nor can the heart of man conceive : but God hath granted unto some few to know them even in this life. Study well, my son, the saying of the apostle, Knowledge puffeth up. It is a good gift of God, but when it lifts up the minds above the cross of Christ, it is the pride of life, and the high way to apostacy, wherein many men of great learning and hopes have perished. In all the exercise of your gifts, and improvement of your talents, have an eye to your master's end, more than to your own ; and to the day of your account, that you may then have your *Quietus est*, even, Well done, good and faithful servant ! But my last and chief request to you, is, that you be careful to have your children brought up in the knowledge and fear of God, and in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. This will give you the best comfort of them, and keep them sure from any want or miscarriage : and when you part from them, it will be no small joy to your soul, that you shall meet them again in Heaven."

It would be difficult to decide whether the character of the Governor or of his son shines brightest in this beautiful fragment. It furnishes an invaluable illustration of both. It also furnishes an opportunity for reminding our readers, that, of Winthrop's children by his first wife, John alone was now living. His daughter Mary, the wife of the Rev. Samuel Dudley, died on the 12th of April, 1643 ; though the Governor has made no allusion to the fact in any paper or letter which we have been able to find, except the indirect allusion in this letter, — which, indeed, may not improbably have been occasioned by that bereavement.

CHAPTER XXI.

ENDICOTT ELECTED GOVERNOR, AND WINTHROP DEPUTY-GOVERNOR. DISCOURSE ON GOVERNMENT.

AT the annual election of 1644, John Endicott was elected Governor. He had come over, as we have seen, in 1628, as the local Governor of "London's Plantation" (as the pioneer settlement at Salem was then called), having received the appointment from the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, to whom he was subordinate.¹ In that office, he had neither predecessor nor successor, as his appointment was coincident with its creation, and as it expired, of course, when the general government was transferred to New England. He was now, for the first time, chosen Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and Winthrop was elected Deputy-Governor.

The year 1644 was eminently a year of political controversy in the little Colony. Grave discussions were held, at the successive sessions of the General Court, as to the principles on which the government should be administered, and as to the respective powers of the two branches into which the Legislature was now divided. The magistrates and the deputies were drawn into frequent and earnest contention with each other; and the

¹ See page 26, ante.

elders were sometimes called upon to give judgment between them. Winthrop discusses the various questions which arose at sufficient length in his Journal, and we are not disposed to tax the patience of our readers by reproducing his arguments here. But we should hardly be pardoned for omitting the new matter, in connection with the same subjects, which has come to light since this biography was taken in hand.

It appears, that, at the General Court held in the "8th month" of this year, Winthrop was involved in a controversy in regard to the claim of the deputies to exercise judicial authority; and, that, in order to do away a misconstruction of his views, he prepared and published a formal Discourse on Government. His Journal, under date of Oct. 30, gives the following account of the matter: —

"There fell out at this court another occasion of further trouble. The deputy governour having formerly, and from time to time, opposed the deputies' claim of judicial authority, and the prescribing of set penalties in cases which may admit variable degrees of guilt, which occasioned them to suspect, that he, and some others of the magistrates, did affect an arbitrary government, he now wrote a small treatise about these points, showing what arbitrary government was, and that our government (in the state it now stood) was not arbitrary, neither in the ground and foundation of it, nor in the exercise and administration thereof. And because it is of public, and (for the most part) of general concernment, and being a subject not formerly handled by any that I have met with, so as it may be of use to stir up some of more experience and more able parts to bestow their pains herein, I have therefore made bold to set down the whole discourse, with the proceedings which happened about it, in a treatise by itself, with some small alterations and additions (not

in the substance of the matter) for clearer evidence of the question. And I must apologize this to the reader, that I do not condemn all prescript penalties, although the argument seem to hold forth so much, but only so far as they cross with the rules of justice, and prudence, and mercy; also, in such cases of smaller concernment, as wherein there may be lawful liberty allowed to judges to use admonition, or to respite an offender to further trial of reformation, etc.”

It might be inferred from the foregoing statement, that Winthrop had proposed incorporating this discourse on government into his History; but he certainly did not do so, nor has any copy of it hitherto been known to exist. But, among the papers and letters recently obtained from the old family residence at New London, the original draught of this venerable treatise has been found. It is all in the Governor's own hand, with many corrections and interlineations betokening the care with which it was composed and revised. Such a paper may, perhaps, have but little interest for the general reader, and we reserve it for the Appendix.¹ It furnishes, however, not only the best illustration of its author's views and principles, and of his ability to explain and defend them, but the best insight into the very source and origin of the institutions under which we live. It is entitled, “Arbitrary Governm^t described: & the Governm^t of the Massachusetts vindicated from that Aspersion.” Its introductory passages are as follows:—

“Arbitrary Governm^t is, where a people have men sett over them, without their choyce, or allowance: who have power to governe them, & Judge their Causes without a Rule.

“God onely hathe this prerogative: whose Sovereintye is

¹ Appendix No. XI.

absolute, & whose will is a perfecte Rule, & Reason it selfe ; so as for man to usurpe suche Aũt^{ye}, is tiranye, & impietye.

"Where the people have Libt^{ye} to admitt, or reiect their Governours ; & to require the Rule by which they shalbe governed & Judged, this is not an Arbitrarye Govern^t.

"That the Govern^t of the Massachusetts is such, will appeare, 1 : by the foundation of it : 2 : by the positive Lawes thereof : 3 : by the constant practice, which proves a custome, then which (when it is for common good) there is no Lawe of man more inviolable."

It concludes as follows : —

"This discourse is runne out to more length then was intended : the Conclusion is this : The Government of the Massachusetts consists of Magistrates & Freemen : in the one is placed the Auth^{tye}, in the other the Lib^{tye} of the Com : W : either hath power to Acte, both alone, & both together, yet by a distinct power, the one of Lib^{tye}, the other of Auth^{tye} : the Freemen Act of themselves in Electinge their Magistrates & Officers : The Magistrates Acte alone in all occurrences out of Court : & both Acte together in the Gen^l Court : yet all limited by certaine Rules, bothe in the greater & smaller affaires : so as the Govern^t is Regular in a mixt Aristocratie, & no wayes Arbitrary."

Appended to this treatise is a long Latin excerpt, from the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, which would hardly add much to its interest or its authority with the modern reader. It certainly did not secure Winthrop from serious animadversion at the time. The treatise appears, indeed, to have been the subject of severe criticism and censure in the Chamber of Deputies. Winthrop describes their proceedings, and explains the ground of their complaints, with more than his usual clearness, in the following passages of his Journal : —

"Some of the deputies had seriously conceived, that the magistrates affected an arbitrary government, and that they had (or sought to have) an unlimited power to do what they pleased without control, and that, for this end, they did strive so much to keep their negative power in the general court. This caused them to interpret all the magistrates' actions and speeches (not complying exactly with their own principles) as tending that way, by which occasions their fears and jealousies increased daily. For prevention whereof they judged it not unlawful to use even *extrema remedia*, as if *salus populi* had been now the transcendant rule to walk by, and that magistracy must be no other, in effect, than a ministerial office, and all authority, both legislative, consultative, and judicial, must be exercised by the people in their body representative. Hereupon they labored, *equis et velis*, to take away the negative vote. Failing of that, they pleaded that the magistrates had no power out of the general court, but what must be derived from the general court; and so they would have put upon them commissions, for what was to be done in the vacancy of the general court, and some of themselves to be joined with the magistrates, and some of the magistrates left out. This not being yielded unto, recourse was had to the elders for advice, and the case stated, with incredible wariness; but the elders casting the cause against them, (as is before declared,) they yet believed, (or at least would that others should,) that the elders' advice was as much for them in their sense as for the magistrates, (and if it were, they had no cause to shun the advice of the elders, as they have seemed to do ever since). This project not prevailing, the next is, for such a body of laws, with prescript penalties in all cases, as nothing might be left to the discretion of the magistrates, (while in the mean time there is no fear of any danger in reserving a liberty for their own discretion in every case,) many laws are agreed upon, some are not assented unto by the magistrates not finding them just. Then is it given out, that the magistrates would have no laws, etc. This gave occasion to the deputy governour to write that treatise about ar-

bitrary government, which he first tendered to the deputies in a model, and finding it approved by some, and silence in others, he drew it up more at large, and having advised with most of the magistrates and elders about it, he intended to have presented it orderly to the court. But to prevent that, the first day of the court, the deputies had gotten a copy, which was presently read amongst them as a dangerous libel of some unknown author, and a committee was presently appointed to examine it, many false and dangerous things were collected out of it, all agreed and voted by them, and sent up to the magistrates for their assent, not seeming all this time to take any notice of the author, nor once moving to have his answer about it, for they feared that his place in the council would have excused him from censure, as well as the like had done Mr. Saltonstall for his book against the standing council not long before. But if they could have prevailed to have had the book censured, this would have weakened his reputation with the people; and so if one of their opposites had been removed, it would somewhat have facilitated their way to what they intended; but this not succeeding as they expected, they kept it *in deposito* till some fitter season."

We find no account of these proceedings in the Colonial Records; but the Report of the Committee, with Winthrop's commentaries upon it, will be found in our Appendix. It is taken from the same file of old papers in which the treatise itself was discovered, where both had slumbered undisturbed for more than two centuries. Robert Bridges, of Lynn, the signer of the Report, and Chairman of the Committee by which it was made, was soon afterwards, chosen Speaker of the House of Deputies; and, the next year, was promoted to the office of an Assistant, which he held until his death. His name is unhappily associated with the first punishment in-

flicted on the Baptists who came from Rhode Island to preach at Lynn.¹

In our Appendix will also be found "the author's review of his writing," in which he sums up the whole question, and concludes as follows:—

"All the usefull Lawes we have, had my consent, & suche poore helpe as the Lord enabled me to yield to them: some of w^{ch} have prescribed penaltyes, & where I have wthhelde my consent to any suche penaltyes, I have given, my reasons for it, w^{ch} have been suche as in some Cases have satisfied the Court, & therein I have taken no more lib^{tye} then is allowed to every member of the Court. I will not justifie every passage in my booke: there are 2: or 3: words that offence hathe been taken at, & althoughe I can give a safe account of them, yet I must confesse they doe not nowe please me, but when the matter is good, & the intention of the writer honest, the Lorde forbidds us to make a man an Offender in word.

"Whatsoever is erroneous (I say as I did from the first) I shall leave it to its due censure: but for all that is of God, & of the trueth, or the sincerity of my intentions hereïn to the pub^c weale, or the Lib^{tye} I had by my place to propounde suche considerations to the Court, if these be questioned I must stande & fall wth them."

We can furnish no more agreeable close to this brief chapter than the subjoined passage from the Governor's Journal of this period:—

"Divers free schools were erected, as at Roxbury (for maintenance whereof every inhabitant bound some house or land for a yearly allowance forever) & at Boston (where they made an order to allow forever 50 pounds to the master & an house, & 30 pounds to an usher, who should also teach to read & write & cipher, & Indians' children were to be taught freely, & the

¹ Winthrop's History of New England, vol. ii. p. 238, Savage's note.

charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc., & this order was confirmed by the General Court [*blank*]. Other towns did the like, providing maintenance by several means."

The records of Boston show, that, nine years before, Winthrop had been associated with Vane and Bellingham and Coddington and others in a liberal subscription towards the maintenance of a free schoolmaster.¹ There was no danger of any arbitrary government in Massachusetts, while such measures for popular education were in progress.

We reserve for our Appendix the rough draft of a letter from Governor Winthrop to the Earl of Warwick, which evidently belongs to this period, and which contains an interesting account of the existing condition of the Colony.² The Earl was for a number of years President of the Council for New England, and was subsequently appointed (Nov. 2, 1643) "Governor-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of the islands and plantations in America."

¹ It is thus not without special fitness that one of our largest Boston Free Schools bears the name of the Winthrop School.

² See Appendix No. XII.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF WINTHROP, AND HIS CELEBRATED SPEECH.

THE controversies about the Essay on Arbitrary Government were followed by others still more memorable. Thomas Dudley was elected Governor in 1645, and Winthrop was again chosen Deputy-Governor. A large part of the time of the General Court, at which this election took place, was occupied with what has generally been called the *impeachment* of Governor Winthrop. It was a memorable occasion in the history of the Colony, and in Winthrop's personal career; and the speech which he made on his acquittal has obtained a world-wide celebrity. There is no narrative of the circumstances of the case, except that which he has left in his own history; but of this it has been well said by Mr. Savage, that it is "as nearly impartial as can ever be expected from the most honest and enlightened contemporary, were he an observer only, instead of a mover, of the occurrences." The whole account is in Winthrop's best style, and is replete with characteristic observations and incidents. The occurrence out of which the affair grew was indeed most trifling in its original aspect. The question, whether Anthony Fames or Bozoun Allen should be the captain of a militia company in the town of Hingham, seems by no means important

enough, certainly, to have set the Colony in a blaze, and to have occupied the whole of an unusually protracted session of the General Court. But in the infancy of commonwealths it often happens, — and sometimes in their maturity also, — that the greatest issues can be traced to the most seemingly insignificant sources. A stray sow in the streets of Boston, and the squabble of these militia-men at Hingham, may take their place on the historic page with the threepenny tea-tax of our Revolutionary period, as illustrations of the petty hinges on which the fortunes of a man, the constitution of a state, or even the fate of a nation, may turn. It is certain, at any rate, that some of the finest elements of Winthrop's character, and some of the noblest utterances of his opinions and principles, might have been lost to history but for the circumstances which his own pen must now be allowed to describe : —

"This court fell out a troublesome business, which took up much time. The town of Hingham, having one Emes their lieutenant seven or eight years, had lately chosen him to be their captain, and had presented him to the standing council for allowance ; but before it was accomplished, the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him, and chose one Allen to be their captain, and presented him to the magistrates (in the time of the last general court) to be allowed. But the magistrates, considering the injury that would hereby accrue to Emes, (who had been their chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill, but what he learned from Emes,) refused to allow of Allen, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place, until the court should take further order. Upon their return home, the messengers, who

came for Allen, called a private meeting of those of their own party, and told them truly, what answer they received from the magistrates, and soon after they appointed a training day, (without their lieutenant's knowledge,) and being assembled, the lieutenant hearing of it came to them, and would have exercised them, as he was wont to do, but those of the other party refused to follow him, except he would show them some order for it. He told them of the magistrates' order about it; the others replied, that authority had advised him to go home and lay down his place honorably. Another asked, what the magistrates had to do with them? Another, that it was but three or four of the magistrates, and if they had been all there, it had been nothing, for Mr. Allen had brought more for them from the deputies, than the lieutenant had from the magistrates. Another of them professeth he will die at the sword's point, if he might not have the choice of his own officers. Another (viz. the clerk of the band) stands up above the people, and requires them to vote, whether they would bear them out in what was past and what was to come. This being assented unto, and the tumult continuing, one of the officers (he who had told them that authority had advised the lieutenant to go home and lay down his place) required Allen to take the captain's place; but he not then accepting it, they put it to the vote, whether he should be their captain. The vote passing for it, he then told the company it was now past question, and thereupon Allen accepted it, and exercised the company two or three days, only about a third part of them followed the lieutenant. He, having denied in the open field, that authority had advised him to lay down his place, and putting (in some sort) the lie upon those who had so reported, was the next Lord's day called to answer it before the church, and he standing to maintain what he had said, five witnesses were produced to convince him. Some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be, that one magistrate had so advised him. He denied both. Whereupon the pastor, one Mr. Hubbert, (brother to three of the principal in this sedition,) was very forward to have excom-

municated the lieutenant presently, but, upon some opposition, it was put off to the next day. Thereupon the lieutenant and some three or four more of the chief men of the town inform four of the next magistrates of these proceedings, who forthwith met at Boston about it, (viz. the deputy governour, the serjeant major general,¹ the secretary, and Mr. Hibbins). These, considering the case, sent warrant to the constable to attach some of the principal offenders (viz. three of the Hubbards and two more) to appear before them at Boston, to find sureties for their appearance at the next court, etc. Upon the day they came to Boston, but their said brother the minister came before them, and fell to expostulate with the said magistrates about the said cause, complaining against the complainants, as talebearers, etc., taking it very disdainfully that his brethren should be sent for by a constable, with other high speeches, which were so provoking, as some of the magistrates told him, that, were it not for respect to his ministry, they would commit him. When his brethren and the rest were come in, the matters of the information were laid to their charge, which they denied for the most part. So they were bound over (each for other) to the next court of assistants. After this five others were sent for by summons (these were only for speaking untruths of the magistrates in the church.) They came before the deputy governour, when he was alone, and demanded the cause of their sending for, and to know their accusers. The deputy told them so much of the cause as he could remember, and referred them to the secretary for a copy, and for their accusers he told them they knew both the men and the matter, neither was a judge bound to let a criminal offender know his accusers before the day of trial, but only in his own discretion, least the accuser might be taken off or perverted, etc. Being required to give bond for their appearance, etc., they refused. The deputy labored to let them see their error, and gave them time to consider of it. About fourteen days after, seeing two of them in the court, (which was kept by those four magistrates

¹ John Endicott.

for smaller causes,) the deputy required them again to enter bond for their appearance, etc., and upon their second refusal committed them in that open court.

"The general court falling out before the court of assistants, the Hubberts and the two which were committed, and others of Hingham, about ninety, (whereof Mr. Hubbert their minister was the first,) presented a petition to the general court, to this effect, that whereas some of them had been bound over, and others committed by some of the magistrates for words spoken concerning the power of the general court, and their liberties, and the liberties of the church, etc., they craved that the court would hear the cause, etc. This was first presented to the deputies, who sent it to the magistrates, desiring their concurrence with them, that the cause might be heard, etc. The magistrates, marvelling that they would grant such a petition, without desiring conference first with themselves, whom it so much concerned, returned answer, that they were willing the cause should be heard, so as the petitioners would name the magistrates whom they intended, and the matters they would lay to their charge, etc. Upon this the deputies demanded of the petitioners' agents (who were then deputies of the court) to have satisfaction in those points, thereupon they singled out the deputy governor, and two of the petitioners undertook the prosecution. Then the petition was returned again to the magistrates for their consent, etc., who being desirous that the deputies might take notice, how prejudicial to authority and the honor of the court it would be to call a magistrate to answer criminally in a cause, wherein nothing of that nature could be laid to his charge, and that without any private examination preceding, did intimate so much to the deputies, (though not directly, yet plainly enough,) showing them that nothing criminal, etc., was laid to his charge, and that the things objected were the act of the court, etc., yet if they would needs have a hearing, they would join in it. And indeed it was the desire of the deputy, (knowing well how much himself and the other magistrates did suffer in the cause, through the slanderous reports wherewith the dep-

uties and the country about had been possessed,) that the cause might receive a public hearing.

'The day appointed being come, the court assembled in the meeting house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present, and a great assembly of people. The deputy governour, coming in with the rest of the magistrates, placed himself beneath within the bar, and so sate uncovered. Some question was in the court about his being in that place (for many both of the court and the assembly were grieved at it). But the deputy telling them, that, being criminally accused, he might not sit as a judge in that cause, and if he were upon the bench, it would be a great disadvantage to him, for he could not take that liberty to plead the cause, which he ought to be allowed at the bar, upon this the court was satisfied.

"The petitioners having declared their grievances, etc., the deputy craved leave to make answer, which was to this effect, viz., that he accounted it no disgrace, but rather an honor put upon him, to be singled out from his brethren in the defence of a cause so just (as he hoped to make that appear) and of so public concernment. And although he might have pleaded to the petition, and so have demurred in law, upon three points, 1, In that there is nothing laid to his charge, that is either criminal or unjust; 2, if he had been mistaken either in the law or in the state of the case, yet whether it were such as a judge is to be called in question for as a delinquent, where it doth not appear to be wickedness or wilfulness; for in England many erroneous judgments are reversed, and errors in proceedings rectified, and yet the judges not called in question about them; 3, in that being thus singled out from three other of the magistrates, and to answer by himself for some things, which were the act of a court, he is deprived of the just means of his defence, for many things may be justified as done by four, which are not warrantable if done by one alone, and the records of a court are a full justification of any act, while such record stands in force. But he was willing to waive this plea, and to make answer to the particular charges, to the end that the truth of

the case, and of all proceedings thereupon might appear to all men.

"Hereupon the court proceeded to examine the whole cause. The deputy justified all the particulars laid to his charge, as that upon credible information of such a mutinous practice, and open disturbance of the peace, and slighting of authority, the offenders were sent for, the principal by warrant to the constable to bring them, and others by summons, and that some were bound over to the next court of assistants, and others that refused to be bound were committed; and all this according to the equity of laws here established, and the custom and laws of England, and our constant practice here these fifteen years. And for some speeches he was charged with as spoken to the delinquents, when they came before him at his house, when none were present with him but themselves, first, he appealed to the judgment of the court, whether delinquents may be received as competent witnesses against a magistrate in such a case; then, for the words themselves, some he justified, some he explained so as no advantage could be taken of them, as that he should say, that the magistrates could try some criminal causes without a jury, that he knew no law of God or man, which required a judge to make known to the party his accusers (or rather witnesses) before the cause came to hearing. But two of them charged him to have said, that it was against the law of God and man so to do, which had been absurd, for the deputy professed he knew no law against it, only a judge may sometimes, in discretion, conceal their names, etc., least they should be tampered with, or conveyed out of the way, etc.

"Two of the magistrates and many of the deputies were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power, and that the people's liberty was thereby in danger; and other of the deputies (being about half) and all the rest of the magistrates were of a different judgment, and that authority was overmuch slighted, which, if not timely remedied, would endanger the commonwealth, and bring us to a mere democracy. By occasion of this difference, there was not so orderly carriage at the

hearing, as was meet, each side striving unseasonably to enforce the evidence, and declaring their judgments thereupon, which should have been reserved to a more private debate, (as after it was,) so as the best part of two days was spent in this public agitation and examination of witnesses, etc. This being ended, a committee was chosen of magistrates and deputies, who stated the case, as it appeared upon the whole pleading and evidence, though it cost much time, and with great difficulty did the committee come to accord upon it.

"The case being stated and agreed, the magistrates and deputies considered it apart, first the deputies, having spent a whole day, and not attaining to any issue, sent up to the magistrates to have their thoughts about it, who taking it into consideration, (the deputy always withdrawing when that matter came into debate,) agreed upon these four points chiefly; 1. That the petition was false and scandalous, 2. That those who were bound over, etc., and others that were parties to the disturbance at Hingham, were all offenders, though in different degrees, 3. That they and the petitioners were to be censured, 4. That the deputy governour ought to be acquit and righted, etc. This being sent down to the deputies, they spent divers days about it, and made two or three returns to the magistrates, and though they found the petition false and scandalous, and so voted it, yet they would not agree to any censure. The magistrates, on the other side, were resolved for censure, and for the deputy's full acquittal. The deputies being thus hard held to it, and growing weary of the court, for it began (3) 14, and brake not up (save one week) till (5) 5, were content they should pay the charges of the court. After, they were drawn to consent to some small fines, but in this they would have drawn in lieutenant Emes to have been fined deeply, he being neither plaintiff nor defendant, but an informer only, and had made good all the points of his information, and no offence found in him, other than that which was after adjudged worthy admonition only; and they would have imposed the charges of the court upon the whole trained band at Hingham, when it was

apparent, that divers were innocent, and had no hand in any of these proceedings. The magistrates not consenting to so manifest injustice, they sent to the deputies to desire them to join with them in calling in the help of the elders, (for they were now assembled at Cambridge from all parts of the United Colonies, and divers of them were present when the cause was publicly heard, and declared themselves much grieved to see that the deputy governour should be called forth to answer as a delinquent in such a case as this was, and one of them, in the name of the rest, had written to him to that effect, fearing least he should apprehend over deeply of the injury, etc.) but the deputies would by no means consent thereto, for they knew that many of the elders understood the cause, and were more careful to uphold the honor and power of the magistrates than themselves well liked of, and many of them (at the request of the elder and others of the church of Hingham during this court) had been at Hingham, to see if they could settle peace in the church there, and found the elder and others the petitioners in great fault, etc. After this (upon motion of the deputies) it was agreed to refer the cause to arbitrators, according to an order of court, when the magistrates and deputies cannot agree, etc. The magistrates named six of the elders of the next towns, and left it to them to choose any three or four of them, and required them to name six others. The deputies finding themselves now at the wall, and not daring to trust the elders with the cause, they sent to desire that six of themselves might come and confer with the magistrates, which being granted, they came, and at last came to this agreement, viz., the chief petitioners and the rest of the offenders were severally fined, (all their fines not amounting to 50 pounds,) the rest of the petitioners to bear equal share to 50 pounds more towards the charges of the court, (two of the principal offenders were the deputies of the town, Joshua Hubbert and Bozone Allen, the first was fined 20 pounds, and the other 5 pounds,) lieutenant Emes to be under admonition, the deputy governour to be legally and publicly acquit of all that was laid to his charge.

"According to this agreement, (5) 3, presently after the lecture the magistrates and deputies took their places in the meeting house, and the people being come together, and the deputy governour placing himself within the bar, as at the time of the hearing, etc., the governour read the sentence of the court, without speaking any more, for the deputies had (by importunity) obtained a promise of silence from the magistrates. Then was the deputy governour desired by the court to go up and take his place again upon the bench, which he did accordingly, and the court being about to rise, he desired leave for a little speech, which was to this effect."

GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S SPEECH.

"I suppose something may be expected from me, upon this charge that is befallen me, which moves me to speak now to you; yet I intend not to intermeddle in the proceedings of the court, or with any of the persons concerned therein. Only I bless God, that I see an issue of this troublesome business. I also acknowledge the justice of the court, and, for mine own part, I am well satisfied, I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire. And though this be sufficient for my justification before men, yet not so before the God, who hath seen so much amiss in my dispensations (and even in this affair) as calls me to be humble. For to be publicly and criminally charged in this court, is matter of humiliation, (and I desire to make a right use of it,) notwithstanding I be thus acquitted. If her father had spit in her face, (saith the Lord concerning Miriam,) should she not have been ashamed seven days? Shame had lien upon her, whatever the occasion had been. I am unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use, to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us. The great questions that have troubled the country, are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty

of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant, who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness, for it his profession, and you pay him for both. But when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

"For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as

well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentiâ deteriores*.¹ This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free, but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments; and if through forwardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit, until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have

¹ The Governor seems not to have forgotten his Terence.

this man to rule over us. Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magistrates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you."

The Journal concludes the story as follows:—

"The deputy governour having ended his speech, the court arose, and the magistrates and deputies retired to attend their other affairs."

Winthrop, as we have seen, styles this, his "little speech;" but few speeches of that period, or indeed of any other period, have obtained a wider celebrity in history. "The circumstances in which this address was delivered," says James Grahame, the excellent and lamented historian of the United States, "recall the most interesting scenes of Greek and Roman history; while, in the wisdom, piety, and dignity that it breathes, it resembles the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Winthrop was not only acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so prevailingly to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen Governor of Massa-

chusetts every year after, as long as he lived.”¹ In the “Modern Universal History,” this speech, somewhat condensed and adorned, is pronounced “equal to any thing of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate.”² De Tocqueville, too, quotes a passage from it in his remarkable essay on Democracy in America, as “a fine definition of liberty.”³

We have given a full account of the speech, and of the circumstances under which it was delivered, in order that its pertinency, as well as its power, might be perceived without the necessity of reverting to the histories of the period. But, even without any such explanation of the circumstances under which it was delivered, it could hardly fail to attract the attention of the reader as one of the memorable utterances of a master-spirit. American history furnishes many noble subjects for the skill of the painter; but it may be doubted whether a nobler one could anywhere be found than the scene which is presented by the calm but careworn father of the Massachusetts Colony, pausing at the vacant chair which he was now called to resume, and pronouncing, before the little legislative assembly of the Colony, that admirable definition of the true nature of civil liberty. The materials for such a picture are abundant. The portraits of Dudley and Endicott and Bradstreet and Cotton and Wilson⁴ as well as of Win-

¹ Grahame's History of the United States, vol. i. ch. 3, p. 273.

² Universal History, vol. xxxix. pp. 291-2.

³ De Tocqueville's United States, p. 24, Am. ed.

⁴ I must not forget that grave doubts have been thrown over the authenticity of this latter portrait, nor that there are some misgivings as to others of them.

throp himself, are all extant ; and it may be that others of those present on the occasion, either as actors or as witnesses, might still be procured. The genius of some one of our native artists would worthily illustrate itself by perpetuating the memory of so impressive a passage in the early history of New England.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WINTHROP GOVERNOR AGAIN. MORE CONTROVERSIES AT HOME AND ABROAD. A PICTURE OF SOCIAL LIFE. ELIOT'S LABOR FOR THE INDIANS. LETTERS FROM THE GOVERNOR TO HIS SON JOHN.

THE controversies in which Winthrop had been engaged during the last two years appear to have given him a new hold on the hearts of the people; and the political year 1646 finds him restored to the Chief Magistracy again, with Dudley as his Deputy. It would seem, by the following excerpt from his Journal, that something of unusual harmony prevailed in the General Court at its opening session this year:—

"6. 3.] The court of elections was at Boston. Mr. Norris of Salem preached. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governour, Mr. Dudley, (the last governour,) deputy governour, Mr. Endecott, serjeant major general, and he and Mr. Pelham commissioners for the United Colonies. The magistrates and deputies had formerly chosen the commissioners, but the freemen, looking at them as general officers, would now choose them themselves, and the rather because some of the deputies had formerly been chosen to that office, which gave offence to our confederates and to many among ourselves. This court lasted near three weeks, and was carried on with much peace and good correspondence; and when the business was near ended, the magistrates and deputies met, and concluded what remained, and so departed in much love. The several committees for laws

made return of their commissions, and brought in many laws which were read over, and some of them scanned, but finding much difficulty in digesting and agreeing them, and the court having much other business, another committee was chosen out of several parts of the jurisdiction in the vacancy of the court, which was adjourned to 7 (8,) to extract out of the whole such as should be thought fit to be established, and so to reduce them into one volume, to agree with such as were already in force, etc."

But the harmony here depicted was not of long duration. Fresh dissensions and discords were not far off. Before the session of the Court of Elections was closed, the famous petition of Dr. Childe and his associates was delivered to the deputies; and the Colony was soon engaged in a controversy, which involved questions both of domestic and of foreign relation, and of the highest moment. Not many months afterwards, an assembly or synod of the churches was held at Cambridge, and gave occasion to religious agitations of the most violent character. And then, about the time the synod was broken up, there came over from England an order from the Commissioners of Plantations, requiring the rulers of the Colony to give free admission to Gorton and Holden and their company to land at any port in New England, and return to Narraganset Bay; and Randall Holden arrived personally at Boston as the bearer of the order. Holden was permitted to pass quietly to his destination; but the question of allowing him and his associates to repossess the land they claimed gave rise to prolonged debates as to the amount of subordination and subjection which was justly to be enforced by the mother

country, or to be submitted to by the Colony. So important was it considered that these questions should be properly discussed and carefully adjusted, that a special mission to England was arranged for the purpose. "This Court," says the Governor, under date of Nov. 9, "the business of Gorton, etc., and of the petitioners, Dr. Childe, etc., were taken into consideration, and it was thought needful to send some able man into England, with commission and instructions, to satisfy the Commissioners for Plantations about those complaints."

The court at first determined to intrust this mission to Edward Winslow, of Plymouth; but it was afterwards proposed that Governor Winthrop himself should undertake it. The following passage from his History will explain the views under which he was excused:—

"The court had made choice of Mr. Edward Winslow, (one of the magistrates of Plimouth,) as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners, having suffered a few years before divers months imprisonment, by means of the last arch prelate, in the cause of New England. But it was now moved by one of the elders, to send one of our own magistrates and one of our elders. The motion and the reasons of it were well apprehended, so as the governour and Mr. Norton, teacher of the church in Ipswich, were named, and in a manner agreed upon; but upon second thoughts it was let fall, chiefly for these two reasons, 1. it was feared, in regard that Mr. Peter had written to the governour to come over and assist in the parliament's cause, etc., that if he were there, he would be called into the parliament, and so detained, 2. many were upon the wing, and his departure

would occasion more new thoughts and apprehensions, etc.
3. it was feared what changes his absence might produce, etc.

"The governour was very averse to a voyage into England, yet he declared himself ready to accept the service, if he should be called to it, though he were then fifty-nine years of age, wanting one month; but he was very glad when he saw the mind of the Lord to be otherwise."

These controversies about Gorton and Childe belong to general history. Governor Winthrop has discussed them at much length, and with great ability; but we could hardly do justice to his views without making larger citations from his writings than would be convenient for these closing chapters of a biographical sketch. If he was somewhat sterner and more severe than we could have wished towards the agitating and insolent schismatics who were disturbing the peace both of church and state at this period, it will be conceded by every one who candidly reads his account of the matter, that he acted under an honest conviction that the very existence of the Colony was at stake. Nor will it fail to be acknowledged, that the power and boldness with which he vindicated the rights of the Colony under the Charter, and repelled the idea of unqualified submission to the control of the mother country, were worthy of the founder of a Commonwealth upon whose soil and by whose sons the first great stand against tyranny was destined to be made a century and a quarter afterwards. The statues of John Winthrop and James Otis and John Adams, in the Chapel at Mount Auburn, were intended to personify different periods in New-England history; but

they breathe one and the same spirit of resistance to foreign oppression. The doctrines of Independence may be almost as clearly read in Winthrop's reply to the order of the Commissioners of Plantations, as in James Otis's speech against writs of assistance, or in John Adams's defence of the Declaration of Independence.

We turn, however, from these grave topics to a pleasant account of the Governor's reception of some distinguished strangers who visited Boston about this time; which gives us a glimpse of his domestic life, and of the manners of the people of the Colony at that period. The entertainment of the party at the Governor's house with wine and sweetmeats, the private walks in his garden, his library of Latin and French books, and the mode of observing the Lord's day, will not fail to be noted without further comment. We forbear giving any part of the account which would re-open the thrice-told tale of D'Aulnay and La Tour, and confine ourselves to that which is merely personal and social in its relations:—

"20. (7.)] Being the Lord's day, and the people ready to go to the assembly after dinner, Monsieur Marie and Monsieur Louis, with Monsieur D'Aulnay his secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water side, who conducted them to their lodgings *sine strepitu*. The public worship being ended, the governour repaired home, and sent major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers to attend them to the governour's house, who, meeting them without his door, carried them into his house, where they were entertained with wine and sweetmeats, and

after a while he accompanied them to their lodgings (being the house of major Gibbons, where they were entertained that night.) The next morning they repaired to the governour, and delivered him their commission, which was in form of a letter directed to the governour and magistrates. It was open, but had a seal only let into the paper with a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the magistrates use to diet in court times; and the governour accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the governour's house every morning about eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting; and at night either himself or some of the commissioners accompanied them to their lodging. It was the third day at noon before our commissioners could come together. When they were met, they propounded great injuries and damages, sustained by Captain Hawkins and our men, in assistance of La Tour, and would have engaged our government therein. We denied that we had any hand, either by commission or permission, in that action. We only gave way to La Tour to hire assistance to conduct his ship home, according to the request made to us in the commission of the vice admiral of France. And for that which was done by our men beyond our commission, we showed Monsieur D'Aulnay's letter to our governour, by Captain Bayley, wherein he writes, that the king of France had laid all the blame upon the vice admiral, and commanded him not to break with us, upon that occasion. We also alleged the peace formerly concluded without any reservation of those things. They replied, that howsoever the king of France had remitted his own interest, yet he had not nor intended to deprive Monsieur D'Aulnay of his private satisfaction. Here they did stick two days. Their commissioners alleged damages to the value of 8000 pounds, but did not stand upon the value. They would have accepted of very small satisfaction, if we would have acknowledged any guilt in our government. In the end they came to this conclusion: we accepted their commissioner's answer, in satis-

faction of those things we had charged upon Monsieur D'Aulnay, and they accepted our answer for clearing our government of what he had charged upon us; and because we could not free Captain Hawkins and the other voluntaries of what they had done, we were to send a small present to Monsieur D'Aulnay in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted, and so a final peace to be concluded. Accordingly we sent Monsieur D'Aulnay by his commissioners a very fair new sedan, (worth forty or fifty pounds where it was made, but of no use to us,) sent by the viceroy of Mexico to a lady his sister, and taken in the West Indies by Captain Cromwell, and by him given to our governour. This the commissioners very well accepted; and so the agreement being signed in several instruments, by the commissioners of both parts, on 28 day of the same month, they took leave and departed to their pinnace, the governour and our commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers, and gave them five guns from Boston, three from Charlestown, and five from Castle Island, and we sent them aboard a quarter cask of sack and some mutton. They answered all our salutations with such small pieces as they had, and so set sail, major Sedgwick and some other gentlemen accompanying them as far as Castle Island. The Lord's day they were here, the governour, acquainting them with our manner, that all men either come to our public meetings, or keep themselves quiet in their houses, and finding that the place where they lodged would not be convenient for them that day, invited them home to his house, where they continued private all that day until sunset, and made use of such books, Latin and French, as he had, and the liberty of a private walk in his garden, and so gave no offence, etc. The two first days after their arrival their pinnace kept up her flag in the main top, which gave offence both to the Londoners who rode in the harbor and also to our own people, whereupon Monsieur Marie was put in mind of it. At first he excused it by a general custom for the

king's ships, both French, English, and Dutch, etc., to use it in all places; but being now under our government, if we would so command, he would cause [it] to be taken down. We desired him not [to] put us to that, but seeing he knew our minds he would do it of himself. Whereupon he gave order to have it taken down."

We cannot find it in our heart to omit, from the annals of 1646, the following most interesting account of John Eliot's "manner of proceeding" with the natives. Winthrop evidently describes it *con amore*, and nowhere does the noble spirit of the Apostle to the Indians shine out more conspicuously than in these paragraphs:—

"Mention was made before of some beginning to instruct the Indians, etc. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church of Roxbury, found such encouragement, as he took great pains to get their language, and in a few months could speak of the things of God to their understanding; and God prospered his endeavors, so as he kept a constant lecture to them in two places, one week at the wigwam of one Wabon, a *new* sachem near Watertown mill, and the other the next week in the wigwam of Cutshamekin near Dorchester mill. And for the furtherance of the work of God, divers of the English resorted to his lecture, and the governour and other of the magistrates and elders sometimes; and the Indians began to repair thither from other parts. His manner of proceeding was thus; he would persuade one of the other elders or some magistrate to begin the exercise with prayer in English; then he took a text, and read it first in the Indian language, and after in English; then he preached to them in Indian about an hour; (but first I should have spoke of the catechising their children, who were soon brought to answer him some short questions, whereupon he gave each of them an apple or a cake) then he demanded of some of the chiefs, if they

understood him ; if they answered, yea, then he asked of them if they had any questions to propound. And they had usually two or three or more questions, which he did resolve. At one time (when the governour was there and about two hundred people, Indian and English, in one wigwam of Cut-shamekin's) an old man asked him, if God would receive such an old man as he was ; to whom he answered by opening the parable of the workmen that were hired into the vineyard ; and when he had opened it, he asked the old man, if he did believe it, who answered he did, and was ready to *weep*. A second question was, what was the reason, that when all Englishmen did know God, yet some of them were poor. His answer was, 1. that God knows it is better for his children to be good than to be rich ; he knows withal, that if some of them had riches, they would abuse them, and wax proud and wanton, etc., therefore he gives them no more riches than may be needful for them, that they may be kept from pride, etc., to depend upon him, 2. he would hereby have men know, that he hath better blessings to bestow upon good men than riches, etc., and that their best portion is in heaven, etc. A third question was, if a man had two wives, (which was ordinary with them,) seeing he must put away one, which he should put away. To this it was answered, that by the law of God the first is the true wife, and the other is no wife ; but if such a case fell out, they should then repair to the magistrates, and they would direct them what to do, for it might be, that the first wife might be an adulteress, etc., and then she was to be put away. When all their questions were resolved, he concluded with prayer in the Indian language.

"The Indians were usually very attentive, and kept their children so quiet as caused no disturbance. Some of them began to be seriously affected, and to understand the things of God, and they were generally ready to reform whatsoever they were told to be against the word of God, as their sorcery, (which they call powwowing,) their whoredoms, etc., idleness,

etc. The Indians grew very inquisitive after knowledge both in things divine and also human, so as one of them, meeting with an honest plain Englishman, would needs know of him, what were the first beginnings (which we call principles) of a commonwealth. The Englishman, being far short in the knowledge of such matters, yet ashamed that an Indian should find an Englishman ignorant of any thing, bethought himself what answer to give him, at last resolved upon this, viz. that the first principle of a commonwealth was salt, for (saith he) by means of salt we can keep our flesh and fish, to have it ready when we need it, whereas you lose much for want of it, and are sometimes ready to starve. A second principle is iron, for thereby we fell trees, build houses, till our land, etc. A third is, ships, by which we carry forth such commodities as we have to spare, and fetch in such as we need, as cloth, wine, etc. Alas! (saith the Indian) then I fear, we shall never be a commonwealth, for we can neither make salt, nor iron, nor ships."

We close this chapter with a few more letters of the Governor to his eldest son, who it seems had gone again to Connecticut, and commenced a plantation at Pequod River. The following passage from the Governor's Journal explains the circumstances under which he went; and the letters will speak for themselves:—

"A plantation was this year begun at Pequod river by Mr. John Winthrop, jr., [and] Mr. Thomas Peter, a minister, (brother to Mr. Peter of Salem,) and this court power was given to them two for ordering and governing the plantation till further order, etc., although it was uncertain whether it would fall within our jurisdiction or not, because they of Connecticut challenged it by virtue of a patent from the king, which was never showed us, so it was done *de bene esse, quousque*, etc., for it mattered not much to which jurisdiction it did belong,

seeing the confederation made all as one; but it was of great concernment to have it planted, to be a curb to the Indians, etc.”

John Winthrop to his Son.

“To my very good son, Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Fisher’s Island, nr. Pequod River.

“MY GOOD SON, — The comfortable season God was pleased to send after thy departure from us, and the fair S. E. wind the last day of the week, gives me hope, that you are all safe arrived at your new habitation. Upon the said last day of the week at evening here came in Captain Hawkins in a ship of 220 tons, set forth by one Mr. Roberts, a merchant of London. Her lading is linen, woollen, shoes, stockings, etc., and 40 tons of coal, and is bound from hence to Malago. Captain Hawkins is commander of her. Here came no more in her but my sister Peter, (who is now as she used to be,) and Mr. Clerk. Your brother¹ hath sent again for his wife, and it seems means to stay in England with his brother Rainsborow, who is governour of Worcester, and he is captain of a troop of horse. The army intended for Ireland is put off, I suppose it is upon the king’s refusing to comply with the parliament, which is all the news we have, except that the sickness began to spread much in London. I send you herein your letters, which I thought best to open least there might be any occasion from them to write back by this next ship. We are all as you left us, I praise God. We all salute you and all yours. The blessing of the Lord be upon you, and he protect and guide you in this great undertaking. Farewell.

“Your loving father,

“JO. WINTHROP.

“26 (8) 46.”

¹ Stephen Winthrop.

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my loving son, Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Fisher's Island, near Pequod River, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON, — I received your letter, etc., from Rhode Island, and returned another to you by Mr. Cowley; and having another opportunity by Captain Malbone, I thought fit to write again. We bless God for the good hope we have of your safe arrival at your own place, which we much desire a further confirmation of. We all continue in health as you left us (blessed be God). Waitstill¹ is with our sister Truesdale. They make much of him, and he likes so well, as he desires no change. Mary is with goodwife Childe. They are in love with her, and she likes them well. Betty and Luce are still with us. John Robertson (I hope) is come to you; he went hence a week after you in C. Dunham's vessel. I purpose to write to your brother Stephen, and press him to satisfy those two debts. The Rainbow went hence the 10th of this present with eighty passengers; but Mr. Peters is resolved to go by Malago with captain Hawkins. Major Bourne's ship will be ready within this fourteen days. Here arrived yesterday a Dutch ship of 300 tons, with 250 tons of salt, sent by Mr. Onge from Lisbon, so as salt was abated in a few hours from 36 to 16 a hogshead. We look at it as a singular providence and testimony of the Lord's care of us. Mr. Haynes is come safe to us, but in great danger to have perished in the tempest, but that beyond expectation, wandering in the night, God brought them to an empty wigwam, where they found two fires burning and wood ready for use. There they were kept two nights and a day, the storm continuing so long with them, with much snow as well as rain. Mrs. Peters went three days since to Salem, and

¹ Wait Still Winthrop, second son of the Governor of Connecticut, and afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts. I know not who "our sister Truesdale" was; but, as Mr. Savage suggests in a note, the word "sister" here probably referred only to Church relationship.

Mrs. Mary Fenwick and Mrs. Lake and her daughter with her. This is all the news I can impart. It was to admiration, that in such a tempest (than which I never observed a greater) so little harm was done, and no person hurt. At Salem the lady Moody's house being a flat roof and but nine feet high, the roof was taken off, and so much of the chimney as was above it, and carried in two parts six or eight rods off. Ten persons lay under it, and knew not of it till they arose in the morning. I had thought we should only have declared our apprehensions concerning the petition, without questioning the petitioners, but the deputies called upon it, whereupon Mr. Fowle was forced to put in bond to answer, etc., and the rest being called, did presently appeal to the parliament, etc., so as we are like to proceed to some censure for their appeal, if not for the petition. I have no more at present, but commend you and my good daughter and your children and Deane and all your company in your plantation (whom I desire to salute) to the gracious protection and blessing of the Lord. I rest your loving father.

"Your mother, brother, and sister salute you all.

"JO. WINTHROP.

"BOSTON, 16 (9) 46."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my loving son, Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Fisher's Island.

"MY GOOD SON, — I have written two letters to you, one by Wm. Cowley, and the other by New Haven. I received your letter from Rhode Island, and do bless God for your safety so far, and the hope of your safe arrival at Fisher's Island. I think very long to hear certainly from you, for the tempest was most violent. Some hurt was done here, especially by the tide the second day after, which was the greatest we ever had; much fish and salt lost at eastward, and terrible loss thereabout, as is feared. We are all in health, I praise God. Wait is with sister Truesdale, and Mary at

sister Child's. This gentleman, Mr. Malbone, can inform you of all, or in my other letters you may meet with more. So with your mother's and brother and sister's salutes to yourself and wife and children and Deane, I commend thee to the precious blessing of the Lord.

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"19 (9) 46."

CHAPTER XXIV.

WINTHROP AGAIN CHOSEN GOVERNOR IN 1647. HIS TRIBUTE TO THOMAS HOOKER. THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE MARGARET. LETTERS OF HER SONS STEPHEN AND SAMUEL. ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR STUYVESANT.

THE contentions about Gorton and Childe, to which brief allusion has been made in the last chapter, were not unnaturally carried into the political elections of the following year (1647), and an attempt was made to remove Winthrop once more from the Chief Magistracy; but the following passage from his own Journal tells the result:—

[May 26.] "The court of elections was at Boston. Great laboring there had been by the friends of the petitioners to have one chosen governour, who favored their cause, and some new magistrates to have been chosen of their side; but the mind of the country appeared clearly, for the old governour was chosen again, with two or three hundred votes more than any other, and no one new magistrate was chosen but only captain Robert Bridges."

The Governor's Journal is continued with less than its wonted precision and regularity about this period; and the reader will presently be at no loss to account for this apparent neglect. Here, however, we have a letter from him to his son, written a little less than a fortnight before the election which has just been re-

corded, and which is not without some items of interest. It will be observed, that, among other things, it says, "Your mother hath been very ill lately, but (I praise God) she is upon recovery:"—

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very good son, Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Nameage upon Pequod River, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON,—To your last by Willys I returned answer by the Indians who came with them, together with letters to Mr. Eaton enclosed, which (I hope) you have sent away before this; and from them, it is like, you will hear of the time of the commissioners' meeting here before us. For such things as have befallen us, here is the wreck of a new pinnace bound for Barbados two months since with nine persons in her, whereof Mr. Stoughton's son was one, and Mr. Ruck's another, and the taking of our trading ship at Cape Sable, by D'Aulney, to the value of *L*.1000, etc.

"Here came in this morning a ship from Virginia with captain Gookin and some others. She was bought by him [of] the governour there. She came out ten days since, and we hear by her, that Mr. Whiting's pinnace is safe there, and another of Connecticut.

"Your mother hath been very ill lately, but (I praise God) she is upon recovery. Your brother Adam is like to lose *L*.60 by this ship that D'Aulney took. Thus the Lord is pleased to keep us under, and all in love, and for our good, that he may wean us from this world, and draw our hearts more after Christ Jesus and those riches which will endure to eternity.

"I hear that Colonel Rainsborow is gone for Ireland, and, I fear, your brother Stephen is there gone with him.¹ We

¹ Stephen had married Judith Rainsborough, a sister of the colonel.

shall hear no certainty till a ship come from England. Captain Harding arrived at Bristol 19 (10). They went from here 9 (9,) and had a very tempestuous voyage, and were carried among the rocks at Scilly, where never ship came. Our pin-naces had very good receipts in the West Indies. I received letters by them from your brother Samuel. He is well (I praise God) and desires to be remembered to you. He writes that there was a great loss in your brother's fish and corn; and that there was lately a great volcano in Palma, which brake out into seven fires, and they saw them every night at Teneriffe, which is sixty miles distant, and the ashes were blown thither in their faces. He sent some of them to me. It melted the stones, etc., so as they ran down like streams of molten lead. It threw forth mighty rocks, and let in the sea 300 fathom deep.

"I hear that Unkas is much at Connecticut soliciting, etc. Seeing he is your neighbor, I would wish you would not be averse to reconciliation with him, if they of Connecticut desire it. The wampom which he received for me never came to my hands, as I wrote you in my last.

"Your neighbors refusing to help drive the cattle hath discharged Deane from coming at present. Your hogs will be lost or killed, for they lie in the neighbor's corn.

"The receipt for ink¹ . . .

"We will see if a cooper can be had, but salt here is none now to be sold. You write not, whether you received the hogshhead of salt I sent you by Captain Smith.

"I can think of no more at present. Your mother and brother and sisters are at the garden. The Lord bless you and my good daughter and children. So I salute you all, and rest

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"14 (3) 47.

¹ A receipt for ink, which the Governor had given here, was not thought worth transcribing by Mr. Savage; and I the more readily acquiesce in his judgment, as I have not the original at hand to supply the omission.

"I send you a little box with my daughter's glasses, two are still behind. I could not bestow them. You write nothing about the stray mare. Gold's wife at Tenhills is dead."

And now a few weeks only elapse before we find the Governor giving an account of an alarming epidemic which pervaded New England at this time, and which included among its numerous victims one of the most valued and distinguished of the founders of the neighboring Colony of Connecticut. Winthrop's tribute to him must not be omitted here:—

"(4.) An epidemical sickness was through the country among Indians and English, French and Dutch. It took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks died; those who took comfortable things, for most part recovered, and that in few days. Wherein a special providence of God appeared, for not a family, nor but few persons escaping it, had it brought all so weak as it did some, and continued so long, our hay and corn had been lost for want of help; but such was the mercy of God to his people, as few died, not above forty or fifty in the Massachusetts, and near as many at Connecticut. But that which made the stroke more sensible and grievous, both to them and to all the country, was the death of that faithful servant of the Lord, Mr. Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church in Hartford, who, for piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, learning, and what else might make him serviceable in the place and time he lived in, might be compared with men of greatest note; and he shall need no other praise: the fruits of his labors in both Englands shall preserve an honorable and happy remembrance of him forever."

But a far heavier blow than the death of any mere friend or public benefactor, however distinguished or respected, was impending over the Governor when this

tribute to Hooker was written. The gentle Margaret, for whose convalescence from severe illness he had so lately "praised God" in his letter to his son, was struck suddenly by the prevailing malady before her strength could have been fully restored ; and she seems to have sunk at once under the attack. Among the manuscript memoranda in an old almanac of 1647, the following entry is found under date of June 15 : — "Mrs. Winthrop, the Governour his wife, was buried, who fell sick on the 13th day in the afternoon and died the next morning." The Governor himself has noted the event in his own Journal, in the following words : —

"14, (4.) In this sickness the governour's wife, daughter of Sir John Tindal, Knight, left this world for a better, being about fifty-six years of age : a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety, and specially beloved and honored of all the country."

Mr. Savage suggests, in his note to this passage, that he might not be forgiven if he were to attempt "to add any thing to this character, equally observable for its brevity and elegance." Yet we can hardly permit the name of Margaret Winthrop to disappear from our pages, without paying a somewhat fuller, even though it may be a less felicitous, tribute to her memory. Her character has already been disclosed in the correspondence which passed between her and her husband during their temporary separations either in old England or in New England, or while the ocean rolled between them. No memorials of her life are left, save these

letters, and the little paragraph which has just been cited from her husband's Journal. But these are enough, we think, to mark her as one of the loveliest of her sex, and certainly to give her no second place among the Puritan women of New England. We have seen her, in our previous volume, the daughter of an eminent lawyer, of an ancient knightly family, leaving a home of luxury to unite herself with Winthrop, at a period of his life when he had but little in the way of fortune or of distinction to offer her. We have seen that religious sympathies were the secret of their mutual attachment; and that, under their influence, she resisted the counsel of family and friends, who would have dissuaded her from the match. We have seen with how deep an affection and admiration she inspired her husband, and what words of love and devotion she drew forth from him in every letter which he wrote her. We have seen with what tenderness, with what humility, with what charming simplicity, she replied. A single passage of one of her letters will serve to recall them all: "My good husband, your love to me doth daily give me cause of comfort, and doth much increase my love to you, for love liveth by love. I were worse than a brute beast if I should not love and be faithful to thee, who hath deserved so well at my hands. I am ashamed and grieved with myself that I have nothing within or without worthy of thee, and yet it pleaseth thee to accept of both and to rest contented. I had need to amend my life and pray to God for more grace that I may not deceive you of those good hopes which you have of me,—a sinful woman, full of in-

firmities, continually failing of what I desire and what I ought to perform to the Lord and to thyself." We have seen her bravely parting with her husband, when he was obliged to leave her behind on his sailing for New England with the Massachusetts Company and Charter. We have seen her not less bravely embarking herself, with her infant child, at the earliest practicable moment, and coming over to live and die in the wilderness. No murmur, no repining, seems ever to have escaped her lips at the deprivations and hardships she encountered. For fifteen years she was a resident of Boston; and, from her husband's position and her own position, she must needs have been at the head of whatever society there was here. Winthrop knew what he was writing, when, after saying that she was "a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty, and piety," he added, that she was "specially beloved and honored of all the country." Who can over-estimate the influence which a woman of such constancy and courage must have had, not merely in sustaining the hearts of her husband and children in all their trials, but in promoting the comfort and the refinement of the little community in which she lived? No better evidence of her amiable and admirable qualities could be desired than is found in the affection and devotion exhibited towards her by her excellent step-son, John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut, who could not have evinced more deference or more tenderness towards her had she been his own mother. He was absent from her, in Connecticut, at the time of her death; and it may

easily be imagined that letters of the deepest sympathy and sadness must have passed between him and his father on an occasion so afflicting to them both. But none of them have survived the lapse of time. Here is one letter, however, from her own eldest son, Stephen Winthrop, who was then at Reigate in England. His father, it seems, had sent him his mother's ring and her Bible; and he acknowledges these precious relics in the postscript:—

Stephen Winthrop to his Father.

“To his much honored ffather Jo: Winthrop Esq., Governor of y^e Massachusetts these in New: England.

“S^r, — I received you^rs by my wife who (through God his goodnes) is safly arrived heere wth her litle ones, for all w^{ch} mercy I desire I may be found answerably thankfull: We heard before of my Deare Mothers departure; w^{ch} was very sad tidings to me: & my losse was as much in it, as any Sonnes could be in a Mother: but I know God calls me to submission: & to drawe more nearer to himselfe: whose providence over us is instead of all relations: o^r interest in him beinge only durable, y^e consideration whereof quiets my spirit: & y^t w^{ch} accompanied this sadd tidings, (as if this had not beene more than nature could have submitted quietly unto) was y^e relation of yo^r owne sadd & dangerous Sicknes; but seeing it pleased God yet to continue you to us, I shall say no more of y^t: but rejoyce in Gods mercy & admire his Wisdome in y^t he afflicteth not but by measure, & will not lay more up^{on} us then we are able to beare. Sir, it saddens me when I thinke of y^e remotenes from you, & y^e rest of my ffrends wth you, & I question not but providence will so worke y^t I may see yo^r fface againe: though I see a cleere providence likewise at present in my stay heere, & I find God ownes me in my Employ^{mt}: but my

thoughts worke much toward N : E : & if I see a call of God I shall be very ready to obay it. This Kingdome is in a very unsettled condition, & it is wonder all falls not in peices in one day : but at p^rsent I cannot give you so particular an acc^t of it as I would because some occation hinders me from being at London this six weeks : & y^e Shipp I understand is goeing : for w^{ch} reason I shall write to fewe ; nor about any buisnes, but desire you to rememb^r me to all o^r ffrends, & so earnestly beggeing yo^r prayers & blessings I rest

"Sir, Yo^r most Obeedient

"Sonne,

"STEPH : WINTHROP.

"RIGAT : 2 March 47.

"SIR, — I thancke you for my Mother's Ring & Bible you were pleased to send me ; my wife is at y^e Downes wth hir brother at this time, I suppose she w^{ill} p^rsent hir Duty to you in a Letter hir selfe, y^e shipp goeing y^t way."

A few days later (6th March, 1647), we find Stephen writing to his "honoured brother," the Governor of Connecticut, and saying, "All my comforts this yeare are mixt with y^e sadd newes of my mother's death. My losse in it is very much, and as much as could be in a mother ; but I know God cann make up all to us in Himselfe, w^{ch} is y^e only durable comfort."

And here is a letter from Margaret's youngest living son, Samuel, who was then at St. Christopher's, and whose sorrow is not less tenderly and touchingly expressed : —

Samuel Winthrop to his Father.

"HONO^RD FATHER,

"S^t X^t FORS, August: 30: 1647.

"S^r, — My laste vnto you was from the Barbados, where I advized of my health and purpose of coming downe to this Island wth a parcell of wines, w^{ch} is now put in execution, &

blessed bee God, well sold. I thought to have remained at the Barbados, but want of a passage hath diverted my minde, I must now pfoarce see London or Holland, I must not lie still and begge. S^r Thomas Warner hath used me verry kindly here and showne me a great deale of favor both in advice & assistance, being a stranger, & like wise his Lady interteyned me wth a great deale of courtesy, who is now gon for Holland. Pray S^r be not unmindefull in yo^r next letters to returne him thanks. By M^r Payson I received the sad newes of my mothers death, w^{ch} I thought I could have born wth a great deale more patience then now I finde I canne. Praie God so to season it to me that out of this greatest affliccon I maie receive greatest benefit. He hath promised that all things shall prove to the best to those that love and feare Him: if all things, then the losse of a dearest mother, to whom I may goe but to me she neer can come. Greife cuts me offe that I cannot write either what nor as I would. Let these request yo^r prayers to the Almighty for mee, that though all freinds fayle & nerest relaçons be taken awaie, yet that He would fayle me never. Pray S^r remember my best respects to my Brother Jn^o, wⁿ yoⁿ have opportunitie of writeing to him, & likewise to my brother Deane whoes remote liveing shall excuse my not writeing. So craveing yo^r blessing rest

"Yo^r most obedient Sonne

"SAMUEL WINTHROP.

"Praie remember me kindly to Goodman Child & His wife."

Margaret Winthrop was the mother of eight children. Four of them — Nathaniel, Anne, William, and Sarah — died in infancy. Her eldest son, Stephen, was for several years Recorder of Boston, and a member of the Colonial Legislature. He went to England in 1646, and, soon after the date of the letter which we have just given, became a colonel in Cromwell's army, and a member of one of his parliaments. He sat for

Banff and Aberdeen in 1656; and Burton's Diary represents him as taking some little part in at least one of the debates of that year. Roger Williams, in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1656, says: "Your brother Stephen succeeds Major-General Harrison;" but there is no evidence that he really received such a promotion. He died at London in 1658, and bequeathed a hundred pounds to the poor of Boston, on condition that a tomb should be erected over the grave of his father and mother. We know not whether the legacy was ever paid, or the condition fulfilled.

From Margaret's second son, Adam, (who died in 1652, at thirty-two years of age), was descended, in the third generation, John Winthrop, LL.D., the eminent professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard University from 1738 to 1779, the friend and correspondent of Franklin, and one of the few American members, at that day, of the Royal Society of England.¹

The third of her sons who lived to maturity, Deane, was a worthy and useful citizen of the Colony; residing at a point² in Boston Harbor which has recently been incorporated as the town of Winthrop. He died there on the 16th of March, 1704, at the age of eighty-one.

Margaret's fourth son, Samuel, was settled as a planter at Antigua, and was Deputy-Governor of that island in 1668. He became connected by marriage with the Byams and Thomases and Williamses, and

¹ From this son descend the only two surviving male representatives of Margaret, bearing the name of Winthrop, — Colonel John Winthrop, of Louisiana, and William Winthrop, Esq., for many years United-States consul at Malta, and a frequent contributor to the "Notes and Queries," and the publications of the Camden Society.

² Pullen Point.

others of the best families of the place; while the marriage of his grand-daughter to Captain Henry Lyons has entitled him to be included among the lineal ancestors of the late distinguished Admiral Lord Lyons; of his hardly less distinguished son, the late British Minister to the United States; and of his grandson, the young Duke of Norfolk. And thus the Puritan blood of Margaret Winthrop is found flowing in old England, after two centuries and a quarter, in the veins not merely of the highest nobility, but of the leading Roman-Catholic family of the realm! Meantime, within a few years past, she herself has been made the subject of a considerable biography; being included among the "Memorable Women of the Puritan Times," in a work bearing that title, by the Rev. James Anderson, of Scotland. It is made up from the letters and other materials which have already been given in this and in our previous volume, and, of course, adds nothing to our knowledge of her career or character. But, coming from a stranger in a distant land, two hundred and fifteen years after she was laid in her humble New-England grave, it is a striking evidence that such lovely examples of fortitude and piety are not destined to be lost to the history of their sex. No portrait of her remains, if any was ever taken; and we have no description of her appearance. We would fain imagine her possessed of every personal charm. Indeed, her husband seems to authorize this idea, when, in one of his parting letters, on leaving her to embark for New England, he exclaims, "Oh, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet

face in the land of the living; that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content!" But, whatever may have been her personal aspect, no one, we think, can read the simple story of her life, with her little notes and letters to her husband and children, without being impressed with the sweetness of her disposition and the charms of her character, or without recalling the words in which the wise man of Israel summed up the supreme excellences of her sex, — "Favor is deceitful and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised."¹

The Journal for 1647 contains but little else of personal or domestic interest. Here is, however, an amusing illustration of the views which were entertained in those days in regard to the ceremonies of marriage, and the manner in which they should be performed. It would seem, that, up to this time, "the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage" had not been "brought in."

"4. (6). There was a great marriage to be solemnized at Boston. The bridegroom being of Hingham, Mr. Hubbard's church, he was procured to preach, and came to Boston to that end. But the magistrates, hearing of it, sent to him to forbear. The reasons were, 1. for that his spirit had been discovered to be averse to our ecclesiastical and civil government, and he was a bold man, and would speak his mind, 2. we were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which ser-

¹ There is no tombstone to mark the burial-place of Margaret Winthrop; but there is the best reason for thinking that her remains were laid in the same graveyard in which her husband was afterwards buried.

mons at such times might induce, but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, etc., it was permitted.”¹

Here is also a passage of the same date, announcing the arrival, at what is now known as New York, of a new Governor, one of whose descendants in the next century was to be united in the closest ties with one of the descendants of Winthrop himself, and many worthy inheritors of the common blood to spring from the union:²—

“The new governour of the Dutch, called Peter Stevesant, being arrived at the Monados, sent his secretary to Boston with letters to the governour, with tender of all courtesy and good correspondency, but withal taking notice of the differences between them and Connecticut, and offering to have them referred to friends here, not to determine, but to prepare for a hearing and determination in Europe; in which letter he lays claim to all between Connecticut and Delaware. The commissioners being assembled at Boston, the governour acquainted them with the letter; and it was put to consideration what answer to return. Some advised, that seeing he made profession of much good will and desire of all neighborly correspondency, we should seek to gain upon him by courtesy, and therefore to accept his offer, and to tender him a visit

¹ I have found a number of certificates of marriage by the magistrates of Massachusetts and of Plymouth among the old family papers. I was indebted, however, to the kindness of my accomplished friend, Lord Napier, late Minister at Washington, and now Governor of Madras, for an original exemplification of a marriage certificate signed by Governor Winthrop himself in this very year, 1647, and emblazoned with the great seal of Massachusetts. It had, doubtless, been sent over to England to settle some question of descent or property at the time.

² Benjamin Winthrop, Esq., of New York, of the sixth generation of the Governor's descendants, married Judith Stuyvesant, 19 January, 1785. One of their sons, Benjamin Robert, is the Vice President of the New-York Historical Society; and one of their daughters (now deceased) was the wife of Hon. George Folsom, late United-States Minister to Holland.

at his own home, or a meeting at any of our towns where he should choose. But the commissioners of those parts thought otherwise, supposing it would be more to their advantage to stand upon terms of distance, etc. And answer was returned accordingly, only taking notice of his offer, and showing our readiness to give him a meeting in time and place convenient. So matters continued as they were."

But this long story of difficulties between the Colonies of New Haven and the New Netherlands belongs to more formal history, and we break it off abruptly, and bring this chapter to a conclusion, by giving the only one of Winthrop's letters to Stuyvesant which has been found among his papers. It presents still another variety in the spelling of the Dutch Governor's name, while the phrase "Your poore friend and servant," with which Winthrop concludes, is touchingly suggestive of the bereavement he had just experienced:—

John Winthrop to Peter Stuyvesant.

"To his much hon^d freind M^r Peter Stepenson, Governo^r Gen^l of Newe Netherlands these present

"HON^d S^r, — Althoughe I wrote to you about a week since by a neighbo^r of mine, yet havinge so fitt opportunity by this bearer my sonne, I could doe no lesse then in these fewe lines to present my salutations to you wth all frendly & due Respecte, desiring & endeavouringe allwayes to manetayne suche neighbo^{ly} correspondence wth you, as maybe to the Comforte of us bothe, & the wellfare of bothe nations, yo^r people & o^{rs}: so I take leave & rest, S^r

"Yo^r poore frend & servant, Jo : WINTHROP.

"Boston New England
30 (7) 1647."

CHAPTER XXV.

WINTHROP RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR. LETTERS TO HIS SON. CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTES. THE CONCLUSION OF HIS HISTORY. HIS ILLNESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL. TRIBUTES TO HIS CAREER AND CHARACTER.

ONCE more, and for the twelfth time, we are permitted to announce the election of John Winthrop as Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and around him are clustered, in subordinate station, those who have been longest associated with him in the service of the infant Commonwealth. His record of the event is in the simplest and briefest form: —

"1648.] 10, (3). The court of elections was at Boston. Mr. Symmes, pastor of Charlestown, preached. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governour again, and Mr. Dudley, deputy governour, Mr. Endecott, sergeant major, and he and Mr. Bradstreet, commissioners, etc."

Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott, Bradstreet, — how much of the best history of Massachusetts is connected with these names! For length of service; for steadfast devotion to New England, whether in prosperity or adversity; for ability and integrity; for moral and religious excellence, — we may search the civil history of the Colony in vain for a nobler quaternion than that represented by the names which are thus closely

grouped together in Governor Winthrop's last entry of a Massachusetts election.

The Governor's account of the course of events during the political year 1648 is by no means full or detailed, and we find but little to extract from it which could throw light on his personal history. Perhaps there may be observed in it a more abundant evidence, than ever before, of the growing superstition of the times, which was destined to culminate in that wide-spread and lamentable delusion about witches by which the Colony was convulsed not long afterwards. Under date of June 4, we find it set down, that "at this Court one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted and found guilty of witchcraft, and hanged for it;" and there is more than enough of the disgusting testimony which led to her conviction. A few weeks later, we have the following story, which we can smile at with less compunction, as it involved only the imprisonment of a man, instead of the death of a woman:—

"28.] The *Welcome*, of Boston, about 300 tons, riding before Charlestown, having in her eighty horses and 120 tons of ballast, in calm weather, fell a rolling, and continued so about twelve hours, so as though they brought a great weight to the one side, yet she would heel to the other, and so deep as they feared her foundering. It was then the time of the county court at Boston, and the magistrates hearing of it, and withal that one Jones (the husband of the witch lately executed) had desired to have passage in her to Barbados, and could not have it without such payment, etc., they sent the officer presently with a warrant to apprehend him, one of them saying that the ship would stand still as soon as he was in prison. And as the officer went, and was passing over the ferry, one said to

- him, you can tame men sometimes, can't you tame this ship? The officer answered, I have that here, that (it may be) will tame her, and make her be quiet; and with that showed his warrant. And at the same instant, she began to stop and presently staid, and after he was put in prison, moved no more."

In immediate sequence to the above, we have another form of the marvellous, in the account of that much-vexed apparition of the New-Haven ship, which has been so often amplified and exaggerated that it may be well to exhibit the simple original once more, as it stands in the Governor's Journal:—

"There appeared over the harbor at New Haven, in the evening, the form of the keel of a ship with three masts, to which were suddenly added all the tackling and sails, and presently after, upon the top of the poop, a man standing with one hand akimbo under his left side, and in his right hand a sword stretched out towards the sea. Then from the side of the ship which was from the town arose a great smoke, which covered all the ship, and in that smoke she vanished away; but some saw her keel sink into the water. This was seen by many, men and women, and it continued about a quarter of an hour."

And here, still again, after a large blank, we find, under date of August 15, the wonderful snake story which has so frequently and so naturally been made the theme of ridicule and derision:—

"15. (6.) The synod met at Cambridge by adjournment from the (4) last. Mr. Allen of Dedham preached out of Acts 15, a very godly, learned, and particular handling of near all the doctrines and applications concerning that subject with a clear discovery and refutation of such errors, objections, and scruples as had been raised about it by some young heads in the country.

"It fell out, about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sate behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Divers of the elders shifted from it, but Mr. Thomson, one of the elders of Braintree, (a man of much faith,) trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains, until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by divine providence, it is out of doubt the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head."

But, as a relief from so much that betokens credulity and superstition, we turn gladly to a few more of those plain, sensible, affectionate letters from the Governor to his son John, which are the best interpreters of the character and principles of them both. Here are two,—one of them written about a week previous to the date of the paragraph which gives the account of the synod and the snake. They are among the last letters of Winthrop which remain; and the first of them has never before been printed:—

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my very good Sonne, Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Nameage upon Pequod River.

"MY GOOD SONNE,—Rich^d Paynter arrivinge heer the last daye of the last week, (wth 2: of the Cheeses for w^{ch} we thank my good daughter & you) brought us the wellcome newes of yo^r safe arrivall & wellfare for w^{ch} we heartily prayse the Lord, who is thus gratusly pleased to watch over us in all o^r wayes.

I hope Mr Lake is come to you before this. Mr. Coddington wrote to me, that he had bought 20 : sheepe of him (I hear for 40th to be payd in Eng^d) I hope you wilbe carefull how you charge Bills into Eng^d : If you have them above 2 : years olde, you will have an ill bargaine.

"Mr Wharley is going to Somer Islands & hath gotten old White to goe wth him, he hathe made him so large promises as we cant dissuade him from it. I praye speake wth Ninicraft & tell him how ill we take it at his hands, that he hath dealt so unfaythfully & ungratefully wth us, & advise him by any meanes (if he love his peace, &c.,) to sende us the rest of the wampam wthin this monthe, or at least some good pte of it, otherwise we shall let passe Pesscus, & require all breache of Cov^t at his hands because upon his worde we delivered the hostages (?) to him. I praye let me heare his Answer as soone as may be. We are all in good health (I praise God) I heard not of this messenger till this Instant, so I can write noe more. The Lord blesse you & yo^r daughter & all y^{ors}, So I rest,

"Y^r lovinge father

JO : WINTHROP.

"3 (5) 48.

"My wife salutes you all.

"Before I had sealed up my L^{tr} came yo^r neighbor Lathropp wth yo^r other l^{tr} : but before he came, I had spoken wth Mr. Mayhew, who came into the Baye on purpose for Advice about his continuance, &c. & tould me before his depture, that all had advised him not to remove as yet, so his Answer was to me at his goinge awaye, for I had tould him what conveniencye there would be at Pequott for himselfe, & as many Indians as he would carry wth him, & English also : what opportunitye allso of preachinge to many more Indians than are at Martins Viney^d, &c : but he is resolved for the present : nor can I heare of any other, that may be had at present, but shall attende any opportunitye, &c, & give you Advice.

"For the meetinge of the Comm^{rs}, it is like to holde at Plimoth, ou^r are not willinge to goe to Conn. Mr. Bradford is not yet resolved, & till then I can resolve neither : for except he goe, I goe not.

"Comēnde me to my daughter ffeake & tell her I have written to the Dutche Gov^r about her businesse allreadye as muche as I can. Desire her also if she have any writinge &c, to shewe of her lande in Barbadoes, that she send it to me wth speed & a lettre of Atty to M^r Turner to recover it & I shall helpe her to somewhat for it, perchance a good sūme of money: my wife salutes you all: the Lord blesse you all:

"Yo^r lovinge father

JO: WINTHROP:

"26 (5) 48.

"Take the quantyty of a good walnutt of this Gu^me Arabeck, & putt it into $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pint of Aquavitæ, sett it on the fire in a brasse skillet, & keepe it stirringe till it be dissolved; & cement the leake wth it, & keep all clothes from it by a shell, or &c: you must beware it take not fire.

"[*Indorsed.*] The Comiss^{rs} meetinge holdth at Plimoth 7 (7) next. I praye let Ninicraft¹ have notice that he wilbe expected there."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my good son Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Pequod, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON,—I bless the Lord, and rejoyce with thee in the safe delivery of my dear daughter, and the comfort of your little Martha. We find by frequent experience, that where the Lord withholdes the ordinary means, he supplies with the greater blessing upon such as he affords us. I hope you will find the like gracious goodness, in spiritual blessings, upon such means as you can attain, until you may be supplied with a public ministry. There were three hopeful young men commenced masters of arts this last commencement, one is schoolmaster at Concord, another at Hartford, and a third at [blank]. Your neighbor Lathrop came not at me (as I expected) to advise about it; but went away without taking leave, etc. Only inquiring after him, I sent my letters to the house where he wrought, the day before his departure.

¹ A portrait of this Sachem, generally known as Ninigret, is among the Winthrop family portraits at New York, with the tradition that he once saved the life of John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut.

"The auditor hath received the wampom, being but 88 fathom, and so small as no man will receive it by the penny, etc. I shall acquaint the commissioners with what you write, and so leave it. The meeting is at Plimouth the first 5th of the (7). The last week we were at Salem, where they are all in health, and gave us very kind entertainment. Henry Pease, my old servant, died this day señight. Mrs. Bellingham was delivered of a daughter which died lately. The iron work goeth on with more hope. It yields now about 7 tons per week, but it is most out of that brown earth which lies under the bog mine. They tried another mine, and after 24 hours they had a sum of about 500, which when they brake, they conceived to be a 5th part silver. There is a grave man of good fashion come now over to see how things stand here. He is one who hath been exercised in iron works. I have no more at present, but my love and blessing to you all, yourself and my good daughter and all your children (little Martha also). My wife salutes you all. Your brothers and sisters, etc., are all abroad. In haste, farewell.

"Your loving father,

JO. WINTHROP.

"BOSTON, 14 (6) 48. Some two hours after I received yours."

It will be observed that the last of these letters concludes by saying, "My wife salutes you all. Your brothers and sisters, etc. are all abroad." Governor Winthrop had not learned to live alone. His children all scattered, his old servants dead or dying, in a land still thinly settled and but partially civilized, and with the weighty cares of government upon him,—he needed the support and comfort which another marriage could alone afford him. And so, about the beginning of this year, he had wedded a sister of Increase Nowell, the old Secretary of the Colony, and the widow of Mr. Thomas Coytmore,— "a right godly man," and a gentleman of

good estate, who had been a deputy to the General Court, from Charlestown, in 1640, and to some subsequent Courts; but who had been lost at sea about three years before. The indentures of the marriage covenant between the Governor and Martha Coytmore were deemed important enough to be admitted to a place in the Colony records, where they are spread out in detail, with many curious particulars of goods and chattels belonging to her. The Governor himself had not many goods and chattels to bestow. On the contrary, his part of the covenant contains the following notable passage: "And whereas the s'd John having disposed of his estate among his children, and such persons as he was engaged unto, so as he hath not to endowe the s'd Martha, and therefore out of the love he beares to her is careful to have her owne estate so secured to her as that by the blessing of the Lord it may be preserved and remaine to her and her children, after the death of the s'd John Winthropp;" &c., &c.¹

But here are five more letters, — the very last which are left, — full of interesting details of domestic occurrences and of foreign news, by which it appears that the Governor had been ill of a fever; that the wife of his son Adam had died; that his son Stephen had been fighting bravely in Scotland; and that his son Samuel had taken a Dutch wife, and was about proceeding to Barbadoes; with many other facts of more general historical importance. The two longest, it will be observed, are in the original spelling, and are now

¹ Joshua Winthrop was born of this marriage, 12th December, 1648; and died 11th January, 1651.

printed for the first time. The Governor's parenthesis about Captain Hawkins — "(God was pleased to change his voyage and send him to heaven by the way)" — will hardly be overlooked by those who have a taste for an off-hand, but exquisite, touch of the old-fashioned devotional sentiment: —

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my good son Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Pequod, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON, — Returning this afternoon from Ipswich, I heard of this opportunity of writing to you, which I would not let slip. I have been ill of a fever these six weeks, yet (I praise God) I have been able to go abroad every day. At Ipswich they are all in health (God be praised). Your sister Symonds is delivered of a daughter. All the other magistrates being absent, save your brother Symonds, there was some necessity of my going, and (through God's mercy) it was not useless. The news out of England is very sad; all the counties are for the king, save Yorkshire. Kent raised about 20,000. The general went against them with about 10,000, and soon routed them. Cromwell is gone against them in the west, and carries all before him, and will give no quarter. Some ten or more of the parliament's ships revolted to the king.

"Our news is sad at home also: God hath visited our family and taken from us your good sister Adam.¹ She died at the garden. Divers young children die here. Our neighbor Sherman his daughter died this day. They are well at Salem, and your uncle is now beginning to distil. We have looked for you long. Mr. Endecott hath found a copper mine in his own ground. Mr. Leader hath tried it. The furnace runs 8 tons per week, and their bar iron is as good as Spanish. The adventurers in England sent over one Mr. Dawes to oversee

¹ Adam Winthrop's wife, Elizabeth Glover, daughter of Rev. José Glover, died September, 1648.

Mr. Leader, etc, but he is far short of Mr. Leader for, etc. They could not agree, so he is returned by Teneriffe.

"I can think of no more at present. I end with my blessing to you and my good daughter and all our children and my love to Mrs. Lake. My wife salutes you all. So I rest

"Your loving father, "JO. WINTHROP.

"30 (7) 48."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my good Sonne Mr. Jo: Winthrop at Pequod.

"MY GOOD SONNE,—By my former this week, I certified you of suche newes as came by relation from N: fd. land: We have since rec^d l^{res} from Maior Bourne, w^h give full Intelligence of all thinges till his cominge awaye. The Kentishe men beinge driven from their ordinance at Dartford, & so marching to Maydston, there they resolved to defende themselves: the Genⁿ (havige but a small pte of his Army wth him) assaulted the Towne, & was repulsed. He beinge in his Coache lame of the gout, gate to horse, & led his men to a new assault & prevayled, so as enteringe the Towne, they made a great slaughter. The Lord Goringe wth 3000: fledd, upon this newes, & gate over into Essex at Erith (the Londoners denyinge him passage throughe the Cyttye) & fortified him selfe at Bow. The Genⁿ sent one Reg^t after him, but many of Essex ioyning wth Goringe, they only skirmished, could not rayse him, till the Genⁿ came himselfe wth the rest of his forces, then Goring marched awaye to Chelmsford, & the Genⁿ after him, & so to Colchester where the Lord Capell & S^r Charles Lucas, & many of Essex joyninge wth them, they fortified the Towne. But the Genⁿ beleagured it, & Colonell Honynood (whose Lieut. Colonell my brother Tindall is) brought his Reg^t to the Genⁿ's ayde & others out of Essex & Suff^k, so as they had them close shutt up, wheras before they made some Sallyes, plundered S^r Harbotell Grimston his house & fetched in some Cattle. In one Sallye 18: of their Com^ders were slayn by the Genⁿ soldiers

& some of his, as Colonell Yardham (under whom Capt. Cooke is); the Genⁿ could easily storme the Towne, but he is very lothe, for the poor Townsmen's sake. In Devon & Cornwall S^r Hardress Waller, wth another pte of the Army carries all before him: & in Wales L. G. Cromwell (wth whom yo^r brother Steph went) hath subdued all p.sons & places that made resistance. There was a Risinge in Cheshire & Lancashire, under the E: of Darby, but they are scattered. In the North, S^r Marmaduke Langdale hath a considerable Army for the K. but Colonell Lambert waytes vpon him, untill the Genⁿ can be at leysure to march thither. There are but 7 shippes revolted, & they are willing to come in againe, nowe they see God hath frustrated the great design, wh. was for all the King's p.tye throughe Eng^{ld} to rise together, & so to seize upon Parliment & Army etc: when Kent did rise, Deale Castle was surprized, & the Vice Admirall putt from his shippes, & his wife & the Maiors wife, & my poore daughter Steph, & all their children were turned out of doores, so as the Vice Admⁿ was forced to putt them aboard a small boat of 20: tuns, & ruⁿe over to Harwich wth them: & havinge bestowed them there, he returned & gott soldiers & besieged the Castle, & was gotten wthin the mote, so as it was conceived the Castle could not hold out many dayes. I am suddenly interrupted, & the messenger is readye to departe. I send you heerwth a pcell of wine & a letter wh. came from Newfldd. So I salute & blesse you & all y^{rs} & rest

"Y^r lovinge father

"J: W:

"6 (8) 48.

"My wife salutes you all. Yo^r brothers are not heer. I had but one hours notice of this opportunity, so as I could not [*torn.*] Capt. Wall came this day from Barbados. Mr. Allen & all o^r neighbors were safe arrived. Mr. Allen lost but 10 hogs [?]. The plague is still hott at Barbados. Mr. Parker, the Min^r, & Mr. Longe, who married Capt. Hawkins daughter, are dead there."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"To my good son Mr. Jo. Winthrop, at Pequod, d'd.

"MY GOOD SON, — I received your letter by Mr. Brewster, and am glad to hear of the welfare of all your family. For that which you write about a minister, I understand by my brother Dudley, that his son D. finding that Mr. B. is offended with his teaching at the new town, is now resolved to remove, and if he have a call from your people and assurance of reasonable maintenance at present, and what likelihood of competency afterward, he will come to you. The messenger stays for this, therefore for other things I must refer you to my other letter by the Roxbury butcher. So with all our loving salutations to you all and mine own blessing I rest

"16 (8) 48."

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

John Winthrop to his Son.

"MY GOOD SON, — We have now received full and certain intelligence from England by Captain Hawkins's ship, (God was pleased to change his voyage and send him to heaven by the way). I send you herewith some books, 13 in all. I received also a letter from your brother Stephen, who was in all those northern wars against the Scots, and (I perceive) did good service; and the Lord was graciously pleased to preserve him, that he was come safe to London 7 (7), and I hope his heart is with the Lord, for he writes christianly; and he and his wife sit down meekly under the Lord's correction in taking away their two children by the small pox at London, after they had been driven from Deal to Harwich and so to Ipswich and then to London for fear of Goring's army. I had letters also from your brother Samuel, who is married in Holland to a Dutch woman, and intends to come this way and so to Barbados.

"Trece his ship was taken in the Downs by the Prince and carried to Holland, with other merchants' ships, but there is

hope of her recovery. Mr. Fenwick is made a colonel and governour of Tinmouth Castle. The books will tell you more. I am in much streights of time. The Lord bless you and all yours. My wife salutes you all. So I rest

"Your loving father,

"JO. WINTHROP.

"7 (9) 48.

"My brother Peter took the Duke of Hamilton prisoner."

John Winthrop to his Son.

"MY GOOD SONNE, —Yo^r severall L^{rs} by this Indian Newcome I received, wee are hearty glad & blesse God for yo^r healthe & the healthe of yo^r family: nor am I greatly sorry for Uncas his outrages (thoughe I wish the Constable had forborne to meddle wth them). I hope it will give the Comiss^{rs} occasion to take some stricter course wth him. You wrote to Amos about prices of beife & pork. I thinke he will write to you not to sende any, for it will not yield above 3^d the lb. at most. I sent you longe since by M^r Throckmorton all o^r newes out of Engl^d in 13: books. The Army hathe prospered beyond all expectation in Wales, in Kent at Colchester, & especially ag^t the Scotts (where yo^r brother Stephen was in the van) about 8000 men were routed, 30000 fought &c, & in 3 dayes, killed about 5000: & tooke 15000: prisoners. he writes a very painstak^e relation of the battayl & of all their skirmishes, etc: in the Northe. I have lent it forth, so as I cant now send it to you. Another shipp arrived heere a week since (some 10: weekes from Engl^d) w^{ch} reports, that the treaty is like to come to nothinge, that the Army requires Iustice ag^t the Kinge, & all other; that the Kingdom is nowe for the Army; that the present States of Scotland called in Cromwell, & disavowed the warre ag^t Eng^d, & have surrendered up Barwick & Carlile & Appleby. Sowlby was taken by a Stratagem by yo^r brother (who hath doone very good service, throughe the Lords assistance, to whom he ascribes all, etc). The Prince & the Earl of Warwick are at

the Brill, but 16: (?) of the States Shipps keepe them from fighting. The people in ffrance stande for their Lib^{tye}, the Parisians have shutt their gates ag^t the kinge. The Ianyzarys have slaine their Sultan. The Spanyard takes the opportunity & besiegeth Dunkirke. Corne is plenty in Eng^{ld}, but it is much growne: these are all the pticu^{rs} I can think off: Munro being called in fledd into Ireland, & was there taken & sent to the Parl^t. There is a new & an honest Parl^t called in Scotland & they desire compliance wth Eng^d, & that their great men may be still kept prisoners there. The Duke of Hamilton was my brother Peters prisoner, he came wth Cromwell out of Wales, & brought the Welshe prisoners wth him, and intended in his returne to trye them at New Castle. Collonell Lilburne betrayed Tinemouthe Castle, but S^t Arthur Hasellricke took it the next night by Storm, & made Colonell Geo ffenwick of Saybrook his Dep^{ty} Gov^r. S^t Matthew Boynton's sonne betrayed Pomfrait, w^{ch} is now beseiged by Coll Raynborowe. This master (who is a member of a Congregationall Church in Dartmouthe,) affirms that in their County there are 100000: men readye upon an hours warninge to assist the Army whose head quarters are now at S^t Albans. Jo: Gallop is to go to Conecticut shortly, by him I intend to send y^r Rubila (?), so wth yo. mothers & mine owne salutations & blessings to you all, in haste I rest

"Yo^r lovinge father

"JO: WINTHROP.

"BOSTON, 3 (12) 48.¹

"I send you yo^r brother Dudleyes L^{re}."

The religious element, always sufficiently pronounced, is evidently more than ever predominant in the Governor's character at the period we have now reached. It manifests itself especially in his Journal, where it seems almost like a premonition of the event we are so soon

¹ This letter, of which the date in modern style is Feb. 3, 1649, is the very last of Governor Winthrop's letters known to be extant.

to record. Here is a passage or two from the Journal, belonging to the general date of August, 1648, in which the hand of the Lord is acknowledged with something more than the usual emphasis:—

“This month, when our first harvest was near had in, the pigeons came again all over the country, but did no harm, (harvest being just in,) but proved a great blessing, it being incredible what multitudes of them were killed daily. It was ordinary for one man to kill eight or ten dozen in half a day, yea five or six dozen at one shoot, and some seven or eight. Thus the Lord showed us, that he could make the same creature, which formerly had been a great chastisement, now to become a great blessing.

“About the midst of this summer, there arose a fly out of the ground, about the bigness of the top of a man’s little finger, of brown color. They filled the woods from Connecticut to Sudbury with a great noise, and eat up the young sprouts of the trees, but meddled not with the corn. They were also between Plimouth and Braintree, but came no further. If the Lord had not stopped them, they had spoiled all our orchards, for they did some few.”

And here are two more passages, bearing date Nov. 18, 1648, in which the “blessing of prayer” is particularly magnified:—

“18.] One Bezaleel Payton of the church of Boston, coming from Barbados in a vessel of 60 tons, was taken with a great storm of wind and rain at east in the night, between Cape Cod and the bay, so as he was forced to put out two anchors; but the storm increasing, they were put from their anchors, and seeing no way but death before their eyes, they commended themselves to the Lord, who delivered them marvelously, for they were carried among Conyhasset rocks, yet touched none of them, and put on shore upon a beach, and presently there

came a mighty sea, which lifted their vessel over the beach into a smooth water, and after the storm was over, they used means, and gate her safe out.

"The like example of the blessing of prayer fell out not long after in saving a small open vessel of ours, wherein was one Richard Collicut of the church of Dorchester, who being eastward about trading was carried by a violent storm among the rocks, where they could find no place to get out. So they went to prayer, and presently there came a great sea, and heaved their vessel over into the open sea, in a place between two rocks."

We give but two paragraphs more, in immediate connection with each other, bearing date, Jan. 11, 1649; and then our citations from Winthrop's History of New England, with the History itself, are brought to an end:—

"11, (11.) About eight persons were drowned this winter, all by venturing upon the ice, except three, whereof two (one of them being far in drink) would needs pass from Boston to Winisemett in a small boat and a tempestuous night. This man (using to come home to Winisemett drunken) his wife would tell him, he would one day be drowned, etc., but he made light of it. Another went aboard a ship to make merry the last day at night, (being the beginning of the Lord's day,) and returning about midnight with three of the ship's company, the boat was upset by means of the ice, they guiding her by a rope, which went from the ship to the shore. The seamen waded out, but the Boston man was drowned, being a man of good conversation and hopeful of some work of grace begun in him, but drawn away by the seamen's invitation. God will be sanctified in them that come near him. Two others were the children of one of the church of Boston. While their parents were at the lecture, the boy, (being about seven years of age,) having a small staff in his hand, ran down

upon the ice towards a boat he saw, and the ice breaking, he fell in, but his staff kept him up, till his sister, about fourteen years old, ran down to save her brother (though there were four men at hand, and called to her not to go, being themselves hasting to save him) and so drowned herself and him also, being past recovery ere the men could come at them, and could easily reach ground with their feet. The parents had no more sons, and confessed they had been too indulgent towards him, and had set their hearts over much upon him.

"This puts me in mind of another child very strangely drowned a little before winter. The parents were also members of the church of Boston. The father had undertaken to maintain the mill-dam, and being at work upon it, (with some help he had hired,) in the afternoon of the last day of the week, night came upon them before they had finished what they intended, and his conscience began to put him in mind of the Lord's day, and he was troubled, yet went on and wrought an hour within night. The next day, after evening exercise, and after they had supped, the mother put two children to bed in the room where themselves did lie, and they went out to visit a neighbor. When they returned, they continued about an hour in the room, and missed not the child, but then the mother going to the bed, and not finding her youngest child, (a daughter about five years of age,) after much search she found it drowned in a well in her cellar; which was very observable, as by a special hand of God, that the child should go out of that room into another in the dark, and then fall down at a trap door, or go down the stairs, and so into the well in the farther end of the cellar, the top of the well and the water being even with the ground. But the father, freely in the open congregation, did acknowledge it the righteous hand of God for his profaning his holy day against the checks of his own conscience."

And thus, with this double warning against the profanation of "the Lord's day," following in ominous sequence

those which illustrated his trust in a special Providence and in the blessing of prayer, Governor Winthrop closes the book, never to open it again. "Here ends," says Mr. Savage, "the MS. History of the venerable Father of Massachusetts." It ends abruptly; and he himself had probably no idea that these were to be his last written words. He laid aside the manuscript for a day or two, undoubtedly with an expectation of resuming it again, and of continuing it during his life. Undoubtedly, too, he anticipated a leisure time when he might review and revise the whole, and put the last hand to what he had written for the benefit of posterity. But here it ends; and, in beautiful consistency with his whole life, the providence of God, the blessing of Prayer, and the keeping holy of the Lord's Day, are the last topics which were touched by his pen.

The following letter from the Governor's son Adam (the only one then at home with him), to his brother in Connecticut, will prepare us for what is to follow:—

Adam Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his honored Brother John Winthrop, Esq., at Pequod, these present.

"BOSTON, the 14 of March, 48.

"Heer being now an opportunity I cannot omitt the presenting my love & servise, with thes lines. We have not heard from you, since we heard by Providence Indian, but hope you are in health. I am sorry I can not write so to you of ourselves, for my father indeed is very Ill, & has bene so above a monthe. He hath kept his bed all most all the time, he hath still upon him a feverish distemper, & a coughing, & is brought very low, weaker than ever I knew him. The Lord only knows the event. We should be very glad if you could be heer. My father not

being able to wright himself desired me to remember his love to you, my sister, & the children, & although he hopes God will raise him up againe, yet he would request you as if it wear his last request, that you wold strive no more about the Pequod Indians but leave them to the Commissioners order. My brother Dudley I hear doth intend to come to you shortly. — I cannot resolve now about any time to visit you, in regard of my father's sicknesse, but hope we shall see you heer. I pray remember me kindly to my sister M^{rs} Lake & all my nephews & neices. I desire to comend you all to Gods protection, so desiring your praiers I rest

“your brother & servant

“ADAM WINTHROP.”

Governor Winthrop was taken ill of “a cold which turned into a feaver,” four or five weeks after he had made the last entry in his Journal. He “lay sick about a month;” and during that sickness, we are told, he was not free from some sharp conflicts and disconsolate thoughts. “But it was not long before those clouds were dispelled, and he enjoyed in his holy soul the great consolations of God.” He was not now for the first time to meditate upon the approaches of death, or to make his peace with Heaven. Five or six years previously, he seems to have anticipated the change which now awaited him, and he then wrote this account of his condition: “Age now comes upon me, and infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this world is not far off. However our times are all in the Lord's hand, so as we need not trouble our thoughts how long or short they may be, but how we may be found faithful when we are called for.” And now, as the time of his departure was more

evidently at hand, he sent for the elders of the church, it is said, to pray with him; and "the whole church fasted as well as prayed for him." During that fast, the venerable Cotton preached a sermon from the text, "When they were sick, I humbled myself with fasting; I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that mourned for his mother."¹ This sermon is not known to be extant; but the following extract from it has been preserved by Cotton Mather: "Upon this occasion we are now to attend this duty for a governour, who has been to us as a friend in his counsel for all things, an help for our bodies by physick, for our estates by law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an enemy, like the friends of David: a governour who has been unto us as a brother; not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted, even by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offences have arisen; a governour who has been unto us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming; and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them."²

We are told too, that, during this last illness, Winthrop was waited upon by Thomas Dudley, the Deputy Governor, and pressed to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox; but that he refused, saying that "he had done too much of that work already."

¹ Ps. xxxv. 13, 14.

² Mather's "Magnalia," book ii. chap. 4.

And, finally, it is related of him, that "having, like Jacob, first left his counsel and his blessing with his children gathered by his bed-side; and, like David, served his generation by the will of God,—he gave up the ghost, and fell asleep on March 26, 1649."¹

A week and a day intervened between the death and the funeral of Governor Winthrop; and the explanation of so long an interval is given in a letter recently found among the old family papers at New London. John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor's eldest son, being in Connecticut, a special Indian messenger was despatched, it seems, to inform him of the event, and to secure his presence at the funeral. This messenger bore with him the following letter in the handwriting of the Rev. John Wilson, and with the additional signatures of Governor Bellingham, John Cotton, and John Clark. It is dated from the very house in which Winthrop had just died, in conformity with "a consultation among the principal of the Towne," and is indorsed by the younger Winthrop, "Mr. Bellingā, Mr. Cotton & Mr. Wilson & Mr. Clark about my father's funerall." The production of the original draft of this paper, with all its signatures, seems to bring before us the event which it announced, with a vividness which nothing else could do; and our readers, we are sure, will not be sorry to see a fac-simile of it on the next page:—

¹ Hawthorne, in the twelfth chapter of the "Scarlet Letter," introduces some incidents of Winthrop's death-bed; but they had no more authority than the other incidents of that most powerful and brilliant Romance. One might almost be pardoned, however, for believing that "portent in the sky" which betokened that "our good Governor was made an Angel."

to be undertaken, & for what time, & how often
a consultation (among the principal of
to order the funeral for the time, & a memorial
to be given of all that in that solemnity it may
what previous account & desire of the Lord. (1649)
had his memorial. (The time agreed upon is
day come night. It is now for 26. of March
will be for 21. day, of the next month that is
to be and the next night gave opportunity to be
ad one about of the funeral in line) if the
you have, for the Lord's sake, & for the
to be a true Christian. (Swift messenger,
give you more good. Our hope for you,
it is a little allayed by the consideration of your
travelling with you in the winter, & the nation
as well as the body of the Lord's body.
all the difference now given over to the Lord
endowment to the Lord in the Lord's body.
desire may be your benefit. (1649)

to be
mon. (1649)
Bohn

Your most loving
brother
in the Lord.
— R. Bellingham

friend John Winterpo
Esq: at Wrentham
Mass.

John Wilson and others to John Winthrop, Jr.

"To o^r deare & honoured friend John Winthrop Esq^r.: at Pequod
these dd.

"DEARE SIR, — It having pleased God to take home vnto his blessed Rest & Glory his most deare servant our Governor, (of whom we have bene so unworthie), Ther was here soone after his decease, a Consultation (among the principall of o^r Towne) how to order his ffuneralls for the time, & otherwise. It being the desire of All that in that solempnity it may appeare of what precious account & desert he hath ben, & how blessed his memoriall. & the time agreed upon is this 3^d day come 7 night, (w^{ch} is now the 26 of March) w^{ch} will be the 3^d day of the next moneth that is April. & to the end y^t yo^rself might have opportunity to be p^rsent (as one above others Interested in him) if God shall give you leave, they have sent Nahawton, whom they did esteeme a Trustie & swift messenger, to give you notice hereof. Our deepe sorrow is not a little allayed by the Consideration of God's merciefull dealing wth him in his sicknesse, & the maⁿer of it, as well in regard of his soule & body, besides all the Assurance we have otherwise of his deare Indearment to o^r God in Christ Jesus, w^{ch} we desire may be yo^r Comfort also, & so

do rest

your most loving
brethren & freinds
in the Lord

"26. of the this
first mon. cal'd
March, 1649,
BOSTON.
ffrom yo^r
ffather's parlor:

RI: BELLINGHAM

JOHN COTTON:
JOHN WILSON.

"Your loving frind

"JOHN CLARK"

Nathaniel Morton, of Plymouth, in his "New England's Memorial," has the following entry under date of 1649: —

"This year Mr. John Winthrop, Governour of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the twenty-sixth day of March, about ten of the clock. He was singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the Country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so that when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honoured and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governour, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbiassed justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the Gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great solemnity and honour, buried at Boston, in New England, the third of April, 1649." ¹

We have no particulars of "the great solemnity and honour" with which the Governor was buried, save such as are implied in the following passage from the Records of the Colony, setting forth the proceedings of the General Court of Election held at Boston on the 2d of May, 1649, which shows that no inconsiderable amount of powder was used on the occasion by "the Artillery Officers of Boston;" the funeral salutes having probably been fired by that same artillery company whose charter had been signed by Governor Winthrop in 1638, and which has long rejoiced in the title of "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company:" —

¹ Davis's Morton, p. 243.

"Whereas the Surveyer gen^lall, on some encouragements, lent one barrell and a halfe of the countryes store of powd^r to the artillery officers of Boston, conditionally, if the Gen^lall Co^rte did not alowe it to them as a gift to spend at the fun^rall of o^r late hono^red Govⁿr, they should repay it, the powd^r being spent on the occasion above said, the Co^rte doth think meete that the powd^r so delivered should nev^r be required againe, and thankfully acknowledg Bostons great, worthy, due love and respects to the late hono^red Govⁿr, w^{ch} they manifested in solemnizing his fun^rall, whom wee accompted worthy of all hon^r."

He was buried in what is now known as King's Chapel Graveyard, where the name and date may be seen on a simple tablet, placed over the family tomb (probably as a substitute for an original gravestone) more than half a century ago.¹ "Whatever were the sepulchre," says an old historian of New England,² "wherein his body was entombed, (not royal, like that of Jehoiada,) yet was he honoured with the like epitaph, engraven in the minds of the people, as a worthy gentleman, who had done good in Israel, having spent not only his whole estate, (which at the first was considerable,) but his bodily strength and life, in the service of the country, not sparing, but always as the burning torch, spending his health and wealth for the good of others."

In the same tomb were afterwards successively buried John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecti-

¹ The inscriptions on the Winthrop Tomb are as follows: "John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts. Died 1649. Major General Wait Still Winthrop. Died Sept. 7th 1717 aged 76 years. Ann Winthrop Sears, the wife of David Sears, Died Oct^r. 2^d. 1789 aged 83 years." Mrs. Sears was a sister of the late Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and the mother of the Hon. David Sears, of Boston.

² Hubbard's New England, p. 519.

cut, and his two sons, — Fitz John Winthrop, who was also Governor of Connecticut; and Wait Still Winthrop, the Chief Justice of Massachusetts. On the death of the latter, Cotton Mather prepared an epitaph for the tomb, which contained the following passage:—

“Palatium est hic Locus, non Tumulus.
Quatuor conduntur in hoc Tumulo Winthropi,
Qui vel quatuor orbis partes ditare sufficerent.”¹

In contemplating such a tomb, so tenanted, one can hardly help recalling the opening lines of that grand old psalm of David, as versified by Tate and Brady:—

“That man is blest who stands in awe
Of God, and loves his sacred law;
His seed on earth shall be renown'd,
And with successive honors crown'd.”

We need not, however, resort to the Psalm-book for lines appropriate to Winthrop's death. Elaborate verses on the subject were composed soon after the event, according to the fashion of the times. Here, on an old original broadside, which has come down to us with the family papers, is —

“A

FUNERAL ELEGIE

On the Death of the Memorable & truly Honourable

JOHN WINTHROPE Esq:

Governour of the Massachusetts Colony in N— England,

For the space of 19 years, who died in the 63^d year of his age,²

March 26, 1649.”

A parenthesis in the caption of this elegy states that

¹ For the whole of this remarkable epitaph, with an ancient translation of it, see the Appendix No. XIII.

² The poet has hardly been exact in his figures. Governor Winthrop was sixty-one years, two months, and fourteen days old, when he died, having been born Jan. 12, 1588.

it was "written many years since," which seems to imply that it was not printed at the time of its composition; but no date is given except that of the Governor's death. It is signed "Perciful Lowle," who could have been no other than Percival Lowell, the ancestor of a family which has been long distinguished in New-England history, and whose name is associated of late years with poetry of no common merit. Its quaint opening, and a few other passages, will suffice here as a sample of its quality; but, in our Appendix,¹ we give the whole production as we find it, from a copy which is undoubtedly unique:—

" You English *Mattachusians* all
 Forbear sometime from sleeping,
 Let every one both great & small
 Prepare themselves for weeping.
 For he is gone that was our friend,
 This Tyrant Death hath wrought his end,
 Who was the very Chief among
 The chiefest of our Peers,
 Who hath in peace maintain'd us long
 The space of nineteen years.

With lines of gold in Marble stone
 With pens of steel engrave his name,
 O let the Muses every one
 In prose and Verse extol his Fame,
 Exceeding far those ancient Sages
 That ruled *Greeks* in former Ages.

Time and Experience the best tryal,
 These two admit of no denial:
 Let nineteen years then witness be
 Of *Wintrops* true sincerity.
 Such gifts of grace from God had he,
 That more than man he seem'd to be."

It is not surprising that the death of Winthrop should have excited a deep feeling in other colonies

¹ Appendix No. XIV.

besides Massachusetts. He had been relied on by them all for advice and counsel. Thus, we find Theophilus Eaton, the Governor of the New-Haven Colony, exchanging expressions of sorrow with Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Netherlands, on the event. "I have received information," writes Governor Eaton to Stuyvesant, under date of "April 11, 1649, *st: veter.*" "of the death of our worthy & much honoured friend, Mr. Jo: Winthrop, late Govern^r of the Massachusetts Colloⁿye; he departed this lyfe the 26th of March. I am assured he is a rich gainer by his remove, the losse is ours, and accordinglie I beleve his death will be lamented through all the Collonies. In reference to this unexpected & afflicting providence, I desire to understand yo^r minde, whom you will choose in his roome to compose & arbitrate differences." — "Understanding by the latter pth of yo^r letter," says Governor Stuyvesant in reply, in a letter dated Fort New Amsterdam, May 4, "of the death of that ever honoured & worthy Gent: Mr. Winthrop, I doe reallie condole with you, we being all of us in these ptes participants in the sad losse of one whose wisdom and integritie might have done much in composing matters betweene us."¹

The character of Governor Winthrop has, perhaps, been sufficiently unfolded in our delineation of his life. It may also be found impartially and admirably depicted in the briefer narratives of his career, by Dr. Cotton Mather in his "*Magnalia Christi Americana*," and by Dr. Jeremy Belknap in his "*American Biography*." The former, who wrote his work nearly a hundred and seventy years ago, gives us a number of pleasant per-

¹ See letters of Govrs. Haynes and Coddington, App. No. XV.

sonal anecdotes, for which there was doubtless sufficient authority, and which throw not a little light on the governor's disposition and domestic life.

"Being the governour over the considerablest part of New England," says Mather, "he maintained the figure & honour of his place with the spirit of a true gentleman; but yet with such obliging condescension to the circumstances of the colony, that when a certain troublesome & malicious calumniator, well known in those times, printed his libellous nick-names upon the chief persons here, the worst nick-name he could find for the governour, was *John Temper-well*; & when the calumnies of that ill man caused the Arch-bishop to summon one Mr. Cleaves before the King, in hopes to get some accusation from him against the country, Mr. Cleaves gave such an account of the governour's laudable carriage in all respects, & the serious devotion wherewith prayers were both publickly & privately made for his Majesty, that the King expressed himself most highly pleased therewithal, only sorry that so worthy a person should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America. He was, indeed, a governour, who had most exactly studied that book, which pretending to teach politicks, did only contain three leaves, & but one word on each of those leaves, which word was, MODERATION."

"To teach them," says Mather, in another place, "the frugality necessary for those times, he abridged himself of a thousand comfortable things, which he had allowed himself elsewhere: his habit was not that soft raiment which would have been disagreeable to a wilderness; his table was not covered with the superfluities that would have invited unto sensualities: water was commonly his own drink, though he gave wine to others. But at the same time his liberality unto the needy was even beyond measure generous; & therein he was continually causing *the blessing of him that was ready to perish to come upon him, & the heart of the widow & the orphan to sing for joy*: but none more than those of deceased Ministers, whom he always treated

with a very singular compassion ; among the instances whereof we still enjoy with us the worthy & now aged son of that reverend Higginson, whose death left his family in a wide world soon after his arrival here, publicly acknowledging the charitable Winthrop for his foster-father. It was often times no small trial unto his faith, to think how a table for the people should be furnished when they first came into the wilderness ! & for very many of the people, his own good works were needful, & accordingly employed for the answering of his faith. Indeed, for a while the governour was the Joseph, unto whom the whole body of the people repaired when their corn failed them ; & he continued relieving of them with his open-handed bounties, as long as he had any stock to do it with ; & a lively faith to see the return of the bread after many days, & not starve in the days that were to pass till that return should be seen, carried him chearfully through those expences.

"Once it was observable, that on Feb. 5. 1630, when he was distributing the last handful of the meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door, at that instant they spied a ship arrived at the harbour's mouth laden with provisions for them all. . Yea, the governour sometimes made his own *private purse* to be the *publick* ; not by sucking into it, but by squeezing out of it ; for when the publick treasure had nothing in it, he did himself defray the charges of the publick. And having learned that lesson of our Lord, that *it is better to give than to receive*, he did, at the general court when he was a third time chosen governour, make a speech unto this purpose, 'That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he accepted with much comfort & content ; & he had likewise received civilities from particular persons, which he could not refuse without incivility in himself ; nevertheless, he took them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's word, & the conscience of his own infirmities ; & therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill if he refused such presents for the time to come.' 'Twas his custom also to send

some of his family upon errands, unto the houses of the poor about their meal time, on purpose to spy whether they wanted; & if it were found that they wanted, he would make that the opportunity of sending supplies unto them. And there was one passage of his charity that was perhaps a little unusual: in an hard & long winter, when wood was very scarce at Boston, a man gave him private information, that a needy person in the neighbourhood stole wood sometimes from his pile; whereupon the governour in a seeming anger did reply, 'Does he so? I'll take a course with him; go, call that man to me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of stealing.' When the man came, the governour considering that if he had stolen, it was more out of necessity than disposition, said unto him, 'Friend, it is a severe winter, & I doubt you are but meanly provided for wood; wherefore I would have you supply yourself at my wood-pile till this cold season be over.' And he then merrily asked his friends, 'Whether he had not effectually cured this man of stealing his wood?'"

"One would have imagined," continues Mather, "that so good a man could have had no enemies; if we had not had a daily & woful experience to convince us, that goodness itself will make enemies." And he then proceeds to inform us that "there were persons eminent both for figure & for number, unto whom it was almost essential to dislike every thing that came from him. And yet," he adds, "he always maintained an amicable correspondence with them; as believing that they acted according to their judgment & conscience, or that their eyes were held by some temptation in the worst of all their oppositions." In another connection, Mather tells us that "so hard was the measure which he found even among pious men, in the temptations of a wilderness, that when the thunder & lightning had smitten a wind-

mill, whereof he was owner, some had such things in their heads as publickly to reproach this charitablest of men as if the voice of the Almighty had rebuked, I know not what oppression, which they judged him guilty of; which things I would not have mentioned, but that the instances may fortifie the expectations of my best readers for such afflictions.”¹

But we gladly turn from the record of such injustices on the part of some few of his contemporaries, to the judgments which have been pronounced upon Winthrop by historians and statesmen of our own day.

In his “History of the United States,” Mr. Bancroft, describing the early colonization of Massachusetts, says of him: —

“It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. In him, a yielding gentleness of temper, and a never-failing desire for unity and harmony, were secured against weakness by deep but tranquil enthusiasm. His nature was touched by the sweetest sympathies of affection for wife, children, and associates. Cheerful in serving others and suffering with them, liberal without repining, helpful without reproaching, in him God so exercised his grace that he discerned his own image and resemblance in his fellow-man, and cared for his neighbor like himself. He was of a sociable nature, so that ‘to love and be beloved was his soul’s paradise;’ and works of mercy were the habit of his life. Parting from affluence in England, he unrepiningly went to meet

¹ Mather concludes his memoir with the following brief epitaph, translated from the Greek “of Josephus about Nehemiah, the Governour of Israel: —

‘Vir fuit indole bonus, ac justus:
Et popularium gloriæ amantissimus:
Quibus eternum relquit monumentum,
 Novanglorum moenia.’”

impoverishment and premature age for the welfare of Massachusetts. His lenient benevolence tempered the bigotry of his companions, without impairing their resoluteness. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in his native parish a conformist, yet wishing for 'gospel purity;' in America, mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of 'the least part,' yet desiring that part to be 'the wiser of the best;' disinterested, brave, and conscientious, — his character marks the transition of the reformation into virtual republicanism, when the sentiment of loyalty, which it was still intended to cherish, gradually yielded to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom."

Dr. Palfrey, in his "History of New England," says of him:—

"The time that has now passed since Winthrop lived is more than a quarter as long as the time since the Norman conquest of England. The influence of his genius and character have been felt through seven generations of a rapidly multiplying people, and of those, not of their number, whom their proceedings have in any way affected. The importance which history should ascribe to his life must be proportionate to the importance attributed to the subsequent agency of that commonwealth of which he was the most eminent founder. It would be erroneous to pretend that the principles upon which it was established were an original conception of his mind; but undoubtedly it was his policy, more than any other man's, that organized into shape, animated with practical vigor, and prepared for permanency, those primeval sentiments and institutions that have directed the course of thought and action in New England in later times. And equally certain is it, that, among the millions of living men descended from those whom he ruled, there is not one who does not — through efficient influences, transmitted in society and in thought along the intervening generations — owe much of what is best within him,

and in the circumstances about him, to the benevolent and courageous wisdom of JOHN WINTHROP.¹

"They who, to make up their idea of consummate excellence in a statesman, require the presence of a religious sense, prompting and controlling all public conduct, will recognize with admiration the prominence of that attribute in the character of this brave, wise, unselfish, and righteous ruler. His sense of religious obligation was the spirit of his politics, as well as the spirit of his daily life. It had pleased God to place him where he might so act as that the virtue and well-being of large numbers of men, living and to be born, might be the fruit of his courage, diligence, steadiness, and foresight. With clear intelligence, he discerned the responsibilities of that position, and accepted them with a cordiality which made it easy to subordinate every less worthy object, and control every meaner motive that might interfere with the generous task he had assumed."²

The late venerable Josiah Quincy, in his address to the citizens of Boston, on the close of the second century from the first settlement of the city, spoke thus of him:—

"For years, Winthrop, the leader of the first great enterprise, was the Chief Magistrate of the infant metropolis. His prudence guided its councils. His valor directed its strength. His life and fortunes were spent in fixing its character, or improving its destinies. A bolder spirit never dwelt, a truer heart never beat, in any bosom. Had Boston, like Rome, a

¹ Dr. Palfrey adds a footnote as follows: "All great effects have remote and slowly operating causes. I do not forget that various agencies must be combined to produce an important political result; but, to my view, the New-England campaign of 1775-76, the movement of John Adams and his compeers for independence eighty-four years ago, and—consequent upon those transactions—the later products of self-government in America, are to Winthrop's administration, something like what the fruit is to the blossom."

² For the admirable character of Winthrop, of which this is but a small part, see Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii. pp. 264-272.

consecrated calendar, there is no name better entitled than that of Winthrop to be registered as its 'patron saint.'"

And, finally, the late Rev. Dr. Young, in his "Chronicles of Massachusetts," says of him as follows: —

"In his magnanimity, disinterestedness, and moderation; in his mingled firmness of principle and mildness of temper; in his harmonious character, consistent life, and well-balanced mind, — the Father of Massachusetts reminds us of the great 'Father of his Country,' and is the only name in our history worthy to stand as a parallel to WASHINGTON."¹

Such tributes as these come less suspiciously from the sources to which we have credited them, than they would from any one inheriting his name and blood; and they are willingly left to rest on the authority of those by whom they were originally paid.

Nineteen years intervened between Winthrop's landing at Salem and his death. During that period, he had seen the Boston, which he founded, grow to be a thriving and prosperous capital; and the State, of which he brought over the charter, extended by successive settlements over a wide territory, and represented, in its little legislature, by deputies from nearly thirty separate towns. Other colonies had planted themselves around Massachusetts, and a New-England Confederation had been formed under his auspices. Free Schools had been established, and a College incorporated and organized. Above all, religion had taken deep root in all the settlements; and Churches were gathered wherever there was an adequate population. Few persons have lived in

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 105, footnote.

these later ages who could have appropriated to themselves, more justly than John Winthrop could have done, the lines of the old Roman Poet, which may have been familiar to him in the schools, —

“ Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi :
Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
Urbem præclaram statui ; mea mœnia vidi.”

But, while he labored so long and so faithfully for the welfare of his fellow-men, he looked higher than to any self-applause, or any human applause, for his reward. Though he spent his strength and his substance in building up a city and a State of earthly habitations, — sparing nothing for his family, and leaving but a single hundred pounds, out of his whole estate, to be the subject of an inventory at his death, — he was ever looking forward to a “city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.” An original portrait of him, said to have been by *Vandyke*,¹ has long been in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts ; and, within a few years past, a marble statue

¹ This was probably the portrait of which the following anecdote is found among the family memoranda: “One of the Pequot Indian Sagamores, who knew the old Governor Winthrop, coming to Boston after his death, and going into the room where his picture was, ran out very much surprised, crying out, ‘He is alive, he is alive, he is alive!’” Another portrait of him is in possession of my cousin, Thomas Charles Winthrop, Esq., of New York, who has also the original portraits of the Governor’s grandfather, Adam, and of his sons John and Stephen, and of his grandsons Fitz John and Wait Still Winthrop. I may be permitted to remember, that, while this chapter was in hand, I was called to New York to attend the funeral of the young and gallant Brigadier-General Frederic Winthrop, a son of Thomas Charles, who fell in the very last battle of the War, at the age of twenty-five, after a brilliant service of four years in the Union army. His body was borne out (to receive the funeral honors of a brigade of Volunteers and Regulars) from the rooms which contained these portraits of his ancestors, and no one could help feeling that he had reflected new distinction on their name and lineage. He was an own cousin, too, of Major Theodore Winthrop, who fell at Big Bethel at the opening of the War, and to whom a brief allusion was made in our previous volume.

of him, by Richard Greenough, has been placed in the chapel at Mt. Auburn. More recently it has been proposed, by the Commissioners to whom the subject was referred by the legislature of the State, that a statue of him should be placed in the Capitol at Washington, with one of John Adams, to represent Massachusetts in the Hall of Historical Statues.¹ Doubtless it would have gratified him to know that his services would be so valued more than two centuries after his death. But, though he could not have been indifferent to the judgment which should be pronounced upon him by posterity, it may safely be said, that, above all other honors which could be paid to his memory, above monuments or statues or memorials of any sort, he would have appreciated the casual coincidence, that, on the very site of his residence,² or certainly within the inclosure of his garden,

¹ The Commissioners appointed by Governor Andrew were Hon. John G. Palfrey, Hon. Solomon Lincoln, and Hon. Richard Frothingham. Their Report, dated Feb. 16, 1866, contains the following passage:—

“In one of the early emigrants to Massachusetts, their acknowledged chief, all their virtues were impersonated. We do not hesitate to advise, that one of the statues to be set up in the national hall shall commemorate the period and the services of the first JOHN WINTHROP. All nations have reserved peculiar honors for their founders: John Winthrop, rather than any other man, represents the founders of Massachusetts. It is impossible to estimate the lasting influence of a human life; but nothing can be more certain than that the beneficent consequences of Winthrop's life have been vast. His mind, more than any other, arranged the social state of Massachusetts: Massachusetts moulded the society of New England. ‘The principles of New England,’ wrote the philosophical French observer, ‘spread at first to the neighboring States; then they passed successively to the more distant ones, and at length they imbued the whole confederation.’ By virtue of recent events, this process is now going on with a new activity, which is destined still to grow; and this nation, as long as it continues to hold up a guiding and cheering light to the friends of liberty and law in all parts of the earth, will be carrying out the work of John Winthrop, and of his associate colonists of Massachusetts Bay.”

² “The house in which he lived remained till 1775, when, with many other old buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops for fuel.”—*Belknap's Am. Biog.* vol. 2. p. 357. It had been occupied, for some years previous to his death in 1758, by the Rev. Thomas Prince, for forty years the pastor of the Old South, and the learned author of the “Chronological History of New England.”

should stand a consecrated edifice, in which, through a long succession of generations, should be gathered one of the chosen churches of Christ, worshipping God according to the faith and the forms which had been dearest to his own heart in his mature New-England life. The Old-South Church in Boston, as it is called, has many hallowed and many patriotic associations ; but it may be doubted whether any of them are more congenial with its sacred uses, or will be more cherished hereafter by its devout frequenters, than that it marks the Boston home of John Winthrop, — its foundations resting upon the spot on which he dwelt in life, its steeple pointing to the brighter abode to which he ever aspired in the skies.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

LETTER OF ARTHUR TYNDAL.

(Referred to on p. 36.)

To his worthy Brother Jōhn Winthrope Esq^r. at Mr. Downinge his house in Byshops Court neer the Conduit in Fleet Street.

MY VERIE GOOD BROTH^r, — After my returne home from yo^u, I fell into disquiēt wth my selfe, thinkinge that I came short in givinge yo^u satisfācōn concerninge that poynt propounded by yo^u of so maine importance (viz^t) whether I had absolutelie resolved to master my desires, and conu^rfaçōn¹ & to liue under the Hierarchie of yo^r church & civill gou^rm^t., purposed & concluded among yo^rselues. W^{ch} consideraçōn hath principallie urged these troublesome lines, to give, under my owne hand, a testimonie of myselfe; That from the verie first birth of my resoluçōn to serve in this busines, I firmelie & unmoveable determined, & still & ever, (the grace of God assistinge me) shall determine, to giue vp all my faculties & powers both of soule & bodie, instrum^{ts}, weapons, & ministers, to serve you in that unitie, bond & waie of pietie and devoçōn, w^{ch} yo^rselves shall imbrace & insue: And so farr I besiche you let me be from beinge suspected of obstinacie or non conformitie, that yo^u would be pleased to und^rstand, that I much comfort my selfe, in the grace of him that is master & giuer of all grace & power, that I shall be an example & true light to continue manie refractaries in flexibilitie & obedience. Oh, if I obtaine the happiness to laye but one stone in the foundaçōn of this new Syon, I shalbe ravished with high content. And for the sinceritie of my heart in these concluçōns, I appeale not onlie to earth, but to him that made

¹ Conversation.

both heauen & earth. S^r we haue been much startled wth the uncertaine report of the restraint of diu^a most hō^{ble} psonages, the cause not know[n]e,—if it shall please yo^r to disperse this mist for us (if yo^r cann) or if tyme hath brought it to light, wee shall thankfully feede vppon yo^r curtesie. My brother & sister lovinglie salute you. And I the unworthiest, wth ardent prayer to God, for a full gale of blessings vppon yo^r pious & hō^{ble} designem^{ts} & wth the free offer of my poore abilities a sacrifice to yo^r service, humblie rest

Yo^r most obliged ffreind & Brother

ARTH: TYNDALE.

CHELMESHORES,
10th of No: 1629.

LETTER OF DEANE TYNDAL.

To the worpⁿ my verie loving Brother John Winthrop Esq att Mr. Downing's house in Bishops Court in ffleet Streete give these.

LOVING BROTHER, — When I remember your curtesies w^{ch} are not a few, and how loving and faithfull a friend you haue been to me, I can not but lament when I thinke of your iourny, for though the bond of love still continueus, yet the distance of place will not let us be so usefull and comfortable one to an other as now we are, w^{ch} makes me still desier your stay here, if it may be for God's glory, and your owne good. M^r Rogers of Weathersfelde is agaynst your goeing, and would fayne meet wth you, for your reasons doe not satisfie him. S^r Dru Deane is not att home, but I sende your writings by his appoyntment to Mr. Briges whoe sayd he would send doune a *Deds Pot* this terme. The Ladie Deane who remembers her love to you, would desier you to leaue the writinges, and the other thinges, you haue of hers consarning S^r Henery Manwarings busnesse wth som of your friends in London, and to send her word where you left them, for she intends to send up to London this next weeke. And now my wives and my owne faithfull loue being remembred to you, desiering the Lord to direct you in your courses, I take my leaue, and rest

Your assured loving Brother

DEANE TYNDALE.

FFROM MAPLSTED
this 23 of October
1629.

II.

JOHN WINTHROP TO HIS SON.

(Referred to on p. 112, footnote.)

To my verye lovinge sonne Mr. Winthrop iunr at Passamuckett,¹ dd.

SONNE [*torn*], — I rece[ived] 3 : Lres from you, but had no opportunitye to sende any to you. I blesse the Lord for the Continuance of yo^r healthe, & of yo^r Companye, but I am sorye to heare yo^r house is in no more forwardnesse. I doubt you will not have it fitt for habitation this winter.

Concerninge Mr Leveredge, I knowe how you can seeme to desire him, wthout offence to the Lords who have sent him over, though he may be free; neither doe I see how you are able at present to maintaine him and his familye, but that you must waite till the springe; yet what lyes wthin my power to helpe you herein, I shalbe readye.

ffor the steeres I sent, I had worde from you by Mr. Clerke, to sende one, & I knewe you might more easily make vse of 2: then one: if none of y^r neighbo^{rs} can or will fitt them for y^r owne & their vse, I will sende for them againe: if you make but a slead, you may drawe wood & timber enough wth them.

ffor the olde Corne you desire, I cañot helpe you wth aboute one hhd (for I have not 2: lefte) but I have bought a hhd of Englishe meale for you; w^{ch} I will sende you by the next Conveyance (if you resolve to winter there.)

There was a Sowe of Lead sent at first, w^{ch} you had best to enq^{re} after, yet you may have another. for other things, yo^r wife will write to you. I meet wth so many letts, as I doubt I shall not see you at Ag: till the Court be passed. The messinger is readye to dep^{te}, so as I must ende, & wth mie and yo^r mothers most hearty Love & prayers to the Lord for y^r wellfare, I comēde you to the good providence & blessinge of the Lord, & rest

Yo^r loving father,

JO: WINTHROP.

OCTOB : 24 : [1633.]

¹ The younger Winthrop was engaged in settling Agawam (Ipswich) when this letter was written, but I know not the precise locality of Passamuckett.

III.

ROUGH DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR WINTHROP
TO THE REV. HENRY PAINTER.¹

(Referred to on p. 141.)

REV^d S^r & MY GOOD BROTHER, — My selfe & wife doe most heartily salute you, o^r deare sister & all o^r Cosins.

S^r I rec^d yo^r loving L^re dat. 9^{ber} 15, '35 this present daye in a shippe w^{ch} now arr^d from the Ile of Maye: I am very gladd to heare from you, & of yo^r healthe & wellfare; & yo^r good inclinatioⁿ towards N: E: w^{ch} gives vs hope, we shall one day see you heere, where you may be assured of most kinde wellcome, w^{ch} (I hope) you doubt not off. & thoughe I will not vse any Arguments to pswade you (for I have been allways slowe in that exercise) I would gladly remove one block, w^{ch} seemes to lye in y^r waye, & that is about o^r Church Coven^t. Yo^r L^re comes so late to my hande as I shall not have opportunitye to have answer from M^r Hooker (beinge 100 miles from vs) tyme enoughe to certifie you of it this yeare: but I will tender you mine owne thoughts aboute it: & I suppose I may saye to you as experience hathe proved in many other bothe learned & godly *tu si hic esses aliter sentires*: It cant be that the Covenant (if it be rightly knowne) should give offence, if it did not seem to strike at the foundatiō of the Churches in England, w^{ch} (as we heere conceive) is but in semblance only, for we acknowledge many true Churches in England w^{ch} are ioyned onely by an implicate Coven^t: but let the Coven^t be examined w^{ch} is this: I doe renounce 'all former corruptions & polutions, I doe promise to walke together wth this Church in all the ordinances of Religiō according to the rule of the Gospell, & wth all the members heerof in brotherly love. / This is the substance of the Coven^t. Now if a father should require this of his child or a master of every serv^{nt} he receives into his house, or a Company of Christian neighbors in England of suche as they receive into their private co^munion, what offence were here? seeing heere is nothing required of the ptye but what he is bound vnto by the worde of God: Besides it is of the nature & essence of every Society to be knitt together by some Covenant, either expressed or im-

¹ Rev. Henry Painter, one of the Westminster Divines, who had married the widow of Governor Winthrop's brother-in-law, Thomas Fones.

plied: now to leave it vncertaine, where men have opportunitie to expresse & cleare it, were a faylinge (at least.)

But it is ob^d: y^t there is neither precept nor patterne of any suche Covenant in Scripture:—

Answ: Admitt there were none, yet there is warrant sufficient for gatheringe of Churches, & therefore all things necessarily incident therto are warrantably implied. What other warrant had Neh: 5: 12: to binde the people by an oathe, To release their vsurious gaine? or the people at his capital to bind themselves by an oathe & a Curse to walk in the Lawe of God? w^{ch} example may be warrant sufficient for Ch^{ms} when they enter into Church fellowship to binde themselves by p-mise to walke accordinge to the rule of the Gospell, & what evill can be in it, if the Church require suche a promise of them? Let that place in Neh: 10: 1: 24: &c. be well considered. I suppose it may satisfie any, that is not vnder temptation, of the warrantableness of such a Church Covenant as o^{rs} is.

Again leave out the Covenant & let vs see what manner of Churches you will constitute: Suppose 10 or 20 Christ^{ms} were desirous to constitute a Church, these being mett together, every of them makes confession of his faith, will this make them a Church? I conceive it will posle a good logitian to make these a Church, wthout some Contract or agreem^t such as will amount to a Covenant.

Again if a man enters no covenant, then is he not tyed to one Church more then to another, & then may he depte wthout leave or offence, nor can he be reputed to be of that Church any longer then while he is in the Assembly, & so consequently, vpon the dissolving of the assembly, the Church hath no being till they assemble again.

Now whereas I exprest my feare of temptatiō in suche as scruple o^f covenant, so far as for that very Cause to shuⁿe Com^muniō wth vs, I doe it not wthout good grounde, for when I see them leape over greater matters, as com^municatinge wth all parochiall members, whereof many are no Saints either by callinge or professiō, submitting themselves to Canonically obedience, whereby they evidently betraye the libertie of the Gospell, & enervate the power of Ch^r: His holy ordinances, of ordinatiō, Admonitiō, excom^m, &c. Putt the case also (as it often falls out) that a godly patron when he bestowes a benefice vpon a mⁱⁿ^r takes a solemne promise of him to be resident vpon it, to teache dilligently, &c. who is there amonge you that will scruple to accept a livinge vpon suche a Covenant as this, w^{ch} hathe neither precept nor patterne in Scripture? So when the Clercke comes to the Bpp for

admission, if he requires a promise (nay an Oathe) of him to doe that w^{ch} the duty of his place requires, none of y^{ou} would sticke at such a Covenant as this. Besides there is a great mistake in the order of o^r Covenant, for it passeth for granted everywhere that none can be admitted heere before they enter into this Covenant, whereas in very truth they are tryed & admitted by the vote of the wholl Church before any Covenant be tendered or mentioned to them. Lastly, it is sometimes tendered to them as a declaration of their purpose & intention only & not in the words of a Covenant or promise, so willinge are o^r Churches to please o^r brethren in all things to o^r mutuall accord & edificatiō.

IV.

JOHN WINTHROP TO HIS SON.

(Referred to on p. 218.)

To my lovinge sonne Mr. Jo : Winthrop, at his howse in Ipsw^{ch}, dd.

DEARE [SONNE], — I wrote [to] you last w[eeke] by Rob^t [torn] & therewth sent you 2: warr^{ts} for [torn] Court there the 12: of the first month, one for yo^r towne & the other for Newberye. I desire to knowe whether they came to you, because otherwise I would sende newe. M^r. Endecott & my brother Peter are now wth vs: we are all in health, I prayse God, & hope to hear the like of you & yo^{rs}: & shall long to heare of o^r good daughters safe delivery, w^{ch} we seriously comēde to the Lord.

Salute all o^r good frinds wth you, & pticularly yo^r Reverend miⁿ^{rs}; & désire them all, from me, to be verry carefull in admission of members, for there be some of these newe opinions, y^t will *simulare* & *dissimulare* beyond expectation, to gett into o^r churches: & when they are once in, then will they goe to worke, though they never stirred before: I hope the sad experience of the effects of such spirits in other churches wilbe caution enoughe to them & others, to beware & knowe men well ere they admitt them; but enoughe of this. We salute you & y^{rs}, yo^r brothers & siste [torn]re well.

Y^r loving father, JO: WINTHROP.

I sende you [torn]
XIth 31: 163 [torn]

V.

JOHN WINTHROP TO THOMAS PRINCE.

(Referred to on p. 238.)

To his verye worthye & lovinge freinde Mr. Prence, Gov^r of Plimouth, d.d.

S^r, — This L^{re} inclosed, beinge deliuered to me by a mistake, was by the like mistake opened by me, but havinge read 3: or 4: lines I reveiwd the supscriptiō & founde my error, wherevpon I layd it by: & (consideringe how I would have another in like case to have dealt wth me) I read no further of it, so as you may rest assured that neither myselfe, nor any other, since it came to my hands is privye to the contents of any more then the first 4: or 5: lines. So wth my lovinge salutations to yourselfe & all o^r worthye & reverēd frends, wth you, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslowe &c: I comēd you to the Lord & rest,

Yo^r verye lovinge friend Jo: WINTHROP.

Boston, this 10th: of
the Xth mo: 1638

This other L^{re} to M^r: Winslowe came wth it.

VI.

ROUGH DRAFT OF A LETTER OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP
TO REV. EZEKIEL ROGERS.¹

(Referred to on p. 254.)

REV^d & DEARE S^r, — I received yo^r lovinge L^{re}, for wh. & all other fruits of yo^r Love I kindly thanke you, espec. for yo^r prayers, wh. (I hope) shall not be lost upon me. Mr. Nelson & Mr. Carlton haue been wth me, & I haue given them what satisfaction I can for the present: I prayse God, it dothe not grieve me to dep^te with any thinge, to paye my debts. Yet there is somethinge troubles me a little, that some of my Christian friends should take advantage of my servants unfaithfullnesse to gett suche bargains, as some of them haue (upon better consideration) been sorrye for, and haue released them, & wthall holpen to ease my burden, by lending me freely: but others call strictly & hastyly for the like, wh. thoughe I looke at it as an Injury yet I haue not complained of it to any nor doe I intende to

¹ Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop, "To Mr. Ez: Rogers not sent."

doe, being p-suaded that they are suche as doe abhorre all oppressing practizes, (thoughe a good man may steppe aside that waye unawares especo. in N: E:) & knowinge yo^r wisdome & integritye, I will make you Iudge in the case: it may be you will not meet wth the like (all circumstances wayed) & thus it stands: Some of them let my servant haue moneye w^{thout} my desire or privyite, till they came to me for their security & they acquaint me wth it in such maner, as I could apprehende no other, but that they lent it freely to doe me a Courtesye, (having then no present occasion to make use of it themselves) so now they haue engaged me to requite this kindnesse some other waye, but wthall, they privately contracte wth my servant for large interest, & take a bill of him for delivery of so much Corne at an under rate, but no mention for what consideration: nor was I ever like to haue knowne it either from them or from my servant, had not a stranger (grievinge (as he sayd) to see how my estate went awaye) given me notice thereof lately, whereupon I examined my servant who then confessed it to me: Otherwise I had payd interest for money, & yet been engaged to them for that, w^h, it seems now, they lent for their owne advantage; for why would they not else haue acquainted me wth the Interest as well as the principall? except they held it either not to be so lawfull, or not of so good reporte to take interest, as to lende money. Thus my Corne that I had provided for the food of my familye is sould awaye w^{thout} my privyite (thoughe I was neere enoughe to haue been spoken wth) some at 2^s the bz under the market, some 12^d, some more, some lesse, whereas if they had tould me when they took securitye for their money, that I must haue payd suche rates for it, I could haue served my occasions otherwise & could as well have made use of my funds or other means then for 2: or 300^{lb} as I am forced now to doe to paye their principall & use wth all: Now thoughe my purpose be (God inablinge me) to satisfie all so fast as I can raise money & provide Corne, yet I thinke it but reasonable that suche as haue bargained for Corne at such under rates, should staye till others (whose bargains are more equall) be first satisfied, so I leaue this matter to yo^rselfe to judge off. For yo^r owne debt, I suppose you intended me a Courtesye in offeringe to accept a heifer for yo^r 2 Calves & 4ⁿ & accordingly I desired Mr. Carlton to choose one for you: & I think if you value your Calves viz: a Bull & Cow calf of a weeke old at 5: or 6ⁿ (w^h is the most they can be worth) & my heifer (as I sould her fellowes before winter) at 13ⁿ, you will finde yo^rselfe mystaken, but that is a small matter between yo^rselfe & me.

VII.

ROUGH DRAFT OF GOV. WINTHROP'S LETTER TO REV.
THOMAS HOOKER, IN 1638.

(Referred to on p. 236.)

I rec^d y^r large & lovinge Lre. I am sorry to have putt you to so muche trouble, consideringe y^r imploy^{ts}, & little leysure to attend such extravagants as my selfe. I observe what you write in 2 pts. The 1: makes me a little merrie, the other calls me to more searious consideration. In the 1: you complain of the slanderous & reproachfull speeches of some of o^{rs}; they report that yo^r cattle doe not thrive, that y^r ground is barrin &c: these are more like the speeches of a prophet. [*Illegible, a whole line.*] I know you trouble not yo^r thoughts wth these things, except it be for recreation, it is well they have no worse matter to laye to yo^r charge; if they had added that you had kept polluted night assemblys, & worshiped the head of an asse &c: then they had sett on wth the weight of the old current stampe.

Yet if you could shewe us the men that reproached you, we should teache them better manners, than to speake evill of this good land God hath brought us to, & to discourage the hearts of their brethren: only you may beare a litle wth the more moderate of them, in regard that one of yo^{rs} opened the doore to all that have followed & for that they may conceive it as lawfull for them to discourage some wth us from forsakinge us to goe to you, as for yo^{rs} to plott by encouragm^{ts} &c. to drawe M^r Shepherd & his wholl church from us. *Sic fama est.* For mine owne pte I knowe you have a most fatt & pleasant country, w^{ch} you will finde, when experience (w^h ushally costs deare) teaches you to improve it in the right kind; for (as I sayd to some of yo^{rs} longe since) you must turne yo^r Corne into flaxe & hempe, by w^h Course you may soone outstrippe us, for that is a merchantable Comodity, & one acre wth you will yield more then 4: wth us. (Provided alwayes that you secure Say brook.)

ffor the other pte of yo^r Lre w^h concernes the differences between us, I confesse I have sadd thoughts about it w^{ch} come to this issue, that seeing we are brethren, one in consotiation, in the same worke of God, in the same Community of perill, under the same external observation, in the same relation for mutuall succour & encouragem^t in o^r waye, they must be composed: & if o^r feares prove true (for as yet we have not

one shipp, no not for the fishing) ere the 3: months, be gone, it wilbe no hard taske to reconcile us, the fight will then be w^h shall have the comfort of yielding most. But howso ever it fall out, yet we must labor in peace & love, & blessed be God that hath fixt us in one minde in the trueth, w^h will make the matter the more easy. We all professe Christianity, we are now putt upon some tryall for the practice of it. You knowe we have rules to walk by: one is that we should let the Cloke goe after the Coat; but (I suggest) you will not tye us to that, neither will we require it of you. We have another rule from the example of Ab: who in the division gave Lott the choyse (yet me thinks it had better become Lott to have yielded that to his elder). If this will not serve our turn, then we have a 3: rule — Thou shalt bringe it to the Judges, if there be none cōpetent, then thou shalt set up Judges, &c: I should be very lothe it should come to this as being too public, & too violent a remedye in o^r case. I have thought of a 4th (w^{ch} I count lawfull though I finde it not prescribed) viz: that you should yield in some things & we in the rest; but it is like you may prescribe some other, therefore I desist of musinge. Truly S^r you have my naked thoughts of this matter, so farre as the Lord letteth me see mine owne heart, w^{ch} I find very deceitfull when it is at best.

I would not meddle wth the ptic^{rs} for I had rather they had been buried then aggravated; but if matters must come to be scanned, I doubt not there will appear some reasons on o^r part, & that the occasions of yo^r greatest grief arise wholly from your owne Comission wth out any thought of o^rs touchinge that course, &c. &c.

VIII.

LETTER OF LORD SAY AND SELE TO JOHN WINTHROP.

(Referred to on p. 249.)

WORTHY S^r, — I receaved a letter from you, dated the 20th of March, whearin vppon hearsay you fall into a reproffe of me, backed with intimations that I may expect and fear judgements, as the 10 princes of I[s]rael founde, for bringinge vp an ill report vppon your lande, and diverting mens intentions from cominge to you as they did discourage the Israelites from goinge into the lande of Canaan. & as befell Moyses and

Aron for [*torn*] God's people to have ielovs thoughtes of his goodnes to them, thorough there owne unbeleefe: and that you may fix it deeper, you desire me to consyder the 4 of Nehemiah, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5, whearin the example of Sanballat and Tobiah are sett before me to fright me: and indeade good cause had I to be frightened, and much humbled, if any of these wear iustly applyed to me, or theyr actions and myne in this pticular of like nature and consequence, & soe rightly paralleled. But whearas you speake in your letter of taking the name of God in vayne, I pray consider seriously, & lett our frendes thear be judges betweene vs, wheather this be not a taking of Godes name in vayne, to misaply scriptures in this mañer (a thinge that when I have heard of it elswhear in speaches and letters hath greaved me) by assuminge (for that must be granted you) that thear is the like cal from God for your goinge to that part of America and fixinge thear, that thear was for the Israelites goinge to the Land of promise and fixinge thear: the like grownde for your stayinge in that place & others cominge theather to you, that thear was for Nehemiah's buildinge the walls of Jerusalem; and for you to plant thear, and noe whear else, is as much a worke of God as his building Jerusalem in that place and noe whear else, although the meanes and probabylyties in humane reasone for youre owne good, and inablinge to doe much more good for the advancement of the gospell, wear surpassinge what is thear neaver so much. Is this to be offered unto men of judgement? . Whoe knoweth not that in the one case fayth only was to be used, and reason layd aside; but in this of yours it will on the other syd be a want of fayth and tempting of God not to exercise reason in the consyderation of possibylyties, yea, and probabylyties. — Thus much to your instances out of Scripture, w^{ch} give me leave to intreat you to vse with more care. For the matter it selfe, the substance of what you charge me with is, that my authorytye (w^{ch} you advance as very effectual) hath diverted many from coming to you, and cast theyr affections another way: this you say you envy not, but wish they may speed well in a better choyse; and yet presently add that this hath caused many a hart to be trobled and greaved, and also this causeth you to lay this charge vppon me. Why should you or any other man be greaved that men followe theyr judgements in transplanting themselves when it is free for them soe to doe; & when they think another place more comodious then that for them, thearfore pitch vppon it rather? and if I think soe too, why am I soe sharply dealt withall, only for speakinge that w^{ch} is a truth, in my judgement, to any that shall advice with me? But you will say I disparrage that

plantation to advance another: it is meet for him that will judge to hear both sydes fyrst, & to be sure of his groundss: if you knewe how basely and falsely that other plantation of Provydence hath bin dis-
 paraged by those affected to yours, for the ende for w^{ch} you suspect I had don the like to you, then you would better knowe whear to place and apply your reproffes. ffor my part, my prayers and [*torn*] have bin and shall be for the good and advancement of those faythfull people, and pure churches that I know to be thear; and to that very ende have I, accordinge to my judgement, perswayded men to thinke of a more southerly part of that continent, whear they might fitt a com-
 odious place for such a body as they already are, and are likely to growe into quickly by accession of those whoe would thear come unto them, or they would be able to bringe vnto them if poore, by the abylytie that such places would afford them: whearas nowe they are soe placed that rich men growe pore, and poore men, if they come over, are a burthen, the rich only mayntayninge the market for a time, untill that be spent w^{ch} they bring out of Englande, w^{ch} land-floude will have an ende, and then wanting a springe, and havinge a continual wast the water will all rū out of the poole; in a place whear staple comōdyties already are, and the soyle and clymate knowen to be fitt to produce the richest, and thearby to carry on soe great a worke as the framinge of a comōnwealth & the setlinge thearof for posterytie, thear will be noe place for this [*torn*] and by this I hope alsoe I shall not be thought to have a litle Iland and the advancement thearof only in my contemplations in all this proposition. What may iustly be vrged agaynst me by the arguments you have vsed & pressed w^{ch} doth not as much concerne them whoe dayly leave you att the Bay, and goe many miles southward for better accomodations, only may you not aske them wheather they dowbt the worke be of God? Wheather his gracious presence be not amongst you? &c.

These arguments conclude not at all a condemnation of what they have don: or what I desire might be don by you all, when it shall be soe prepared that you may see it feaceable & profitable, not for outward thinges alone, (though that will be founde necessary as I verily think,) but most of all for the advancement of the gospell & puttinge downe the great adversary thearof, that man of siñ, whearvnto as you are now you neather are able, nor are likely to be, to putt your handes to the least wheele that is to be turned about in that worke, otherwayse then by well wishinge thearvnto. All the rest of your proffes to prove it a worke of God are meere besydes this question, & nothing to

the pourpose: it is good in argumentation, especially when you will presse judgements vpon any, to examine first — wheather your reasons conclude the poynt in question, or are soe fare besydes the matter as that they may all be granted, & yet the case remayne the same it was. I will grant that God is with you, that you are glorious churches, that he sent you theather in handfulls, vntill you might grow vnto a body fitt to doe him service; — that he hath blessed you thear with some testimonies of his favour vntill you wear soe augmented: will it att all be concluded from thence that you are bounde to stay thear, or that that is the place w^{ch} he hath designed out for you: and whosoever discourageth others from cominge to you fighteth agaynst God? Noe such thinge: I will more probably argue the cleane contrary! God hath carryed you together in parts, one company after another, whear you might be gathered togeather in safty, vntill you wear growne vnto such a bodye as wear able to doe him service, and sitt downe in safty in such places as may be most fitt for the worke he hath in hande, and for your owne comfortable subsistinge: this you coulede not have don by handfulls as you went out, thearfore att the fyrst you wear cast vpon this place, and caryed out into this wildernes to be increased & fitted for the worke intended for you: now you are thear you fynde it but a wildernes (w^{ch} compels many of you to straggle) that soe when an opportunity is offered vnto you you might not neglect it, but see your selves called to it as you have bin hear sheltered by a gracious provydençe vntill you wear grown fitt and able to vndertake it; w^{ch} opportunity if you neglect by pretence [*words destroyed*] while you neglect to serve Provydençe, w^{ch} offereth you meanes another way, and discovereth to you the want of meanes wheare you are: you will doe noe other then cast your selfe downe from the pynacle, and refuse the stayres w^{ch} are before you. Thus may I argue with as much probabylytie as you; for it is as likely that you have in provydençe bin cast vpon that place, to remove from thence vpon due occasion, as to stay thear, and much more likely, when in some other you may doe more service, and receave more meanes by much of comfortable subsistence. Hear you see w^{ch} way all your arguments may be turned, with as much convincinge evydence, as to conclude that you bringe them for. ffor the barrenes of the lande, and the coldnes of the ayre in the winter, it will be testyfyed from those whoe have had experience of it, your owne losses may be sufficient witnes of it, but I pray tell me, be it as it is, is thear any impiety in me to move men to live in a warmer clymate & in a more frutefull soyle, when it is fre for

them to make theyr choyse? Why are you angry with me for this? As for your government, it is a very plausible way to win vppon the [*torn*] that affecteth popularityty, to persuaide them that other men goe about to enthrall them and theyr posterytie, but he standeth for theyr libertye; when it may be, neather he nor they rightly vnderstande what true government is and desyrable liberty, such as wise men would wish to inioy and live vnder. I wonder you should conceave any man woud desyre to advance his owne posterytie, by enthralling other mens, whoe have moved any alteration of government with you; and theyr posterytie with you, or like to be wth you, or to be advanced by beinge thear? Hath any gon about to inslave you? You say your forme of government, you hear, is much blamed, but whearin you expresse not, only you ende with this, that you woude not be enthralled to advance other mens posterytie: and I say agayne noe wise man shoud be soe folish as to live whear every man is a master, and masters must not correct theyr servants; where wise men propound and fooles determine, as it was sayde of the citties of Greece. For my part, if you ayme att me, I doe judge and thinke I can mayntayne by good reason, that to be the best forme of government w^{ch} hath in it the good of all there, so fittly limitinge each other, and thearby preventinge the evils of eather, that beinge equally poysed one by the other, they shall all yealde forth what is good, in eather, for the settlinge and preservinge of comon right and liberty, to all & every pticular. It may be you ayme att this, that some ranckes shoud be hereditary, & that, you think, woude enthralle others. Not att all, when it shoud be in theyr giftes vppon meritt & well deservinge of the comon wealth, and in theyr power to resume vppon demeritt; that thear is power in a state to reward virtue hereditaryly, & for disservice to lay a punishment that shall extende to posterytie, this constitution doth not abridg power in those that giue it, though they inioy it not themselves; but advanceth their liberty to theyr owne good. Thear is noe danger in such different degrees (w^{ch} will be founde necessary), so longe as they are allwayes accomptable to parliaments consisting of all estates vnited yearly, and having in that vnion *supremam potestatem*. — For what you say of the church not compatable with another frame of goverment, I pray putt away that error: these govermentes must be as in theyr owne nature they are kept and exercised, soe distinct, as that movinge w^{thin} theyr owne spheres, the church goverment beinge wholly spirriual, can consist with any forme of outward goverment, good or bad. Soe did they in the time of the hethen tyrants. I have troubled you with a

tedious and scribled letter, you must excuse me, I cannot for the hast of the bearer whoe stayeth for it while I write it, transcribe it, my hast also may cause me to give you lesse satisfaction then oth[erwise I] might. You may please to make y^e best interpreta[ti]on of all, & to accompt of me as one that wisheth all happynes to your plantation, & to your selfe shall remayne

Your very lovinge frende

W: SAY & SEALE.

JULY 9, 1640.

IX.

A REPLYE TO THE ANSW: MADE TO THE DISCOURSE ABOUT THE NEG: VOTE.

(Referred to on p. 293.)

Vpon Consideratiō of the substance of the Answ: I finde that the main difference will fall into these 4. questions

- 1: Whither a Neg: vo be reserved to the magistrats by the Lres Patents
- 2: Whither it be a fundamentall pt of o^r Govern^t.
- 3: Whither it be Lawfull & expedient for vs.
- 4: What is the prop place & power of the Deptyes.

Then I shall cleare some of the Answerers mistakes. And in this Replye I shall still retaine the title of Magistrate, w^{ch} the Answ: Declines, & that professedly, w^{ch} I knowe no reason off, seinge the Patent allowes it, & himselfe invests the Deptyes wth it. (18)

The 1: Qu: wilbe best cleared by the Patent itselfe, wherein I will sett downe the verye words thmselues (so far as concerne the state of the Questiō) & not leave out what may make ag^t me, as the Answ^r often doth.

The Patent ruñes thus.

Any 7: or more psons of the Assistants, together wth the Govern^r or Depty Gou^r so assembled &c: shalbe a full & sufficient Court &c; And the sd Gov^r, or Deptye & 7: or more Assist^s: may hould 4: gent^t Courts &c: And the sd Gov^r or Depty Assistants & freemen, or the

greater number of them &c. wherof the Gov^r or Deptye & 6: of the Assis^ts to be allways 7: may admitt freemen & make Lawes &c:

And it shall & may be lawfull to & for the Gov^r & suche of the Assis^ts & freemen &c: as shalbe so Assembled &c: or the greater pte of them, whereof the Gove^r or Deptye Gov^r & 6: of the Assis^ts to be allways 7: to make &c: all maner of whollsme Orders &c: not contrary to the Lawes of Eng^l: as well for settling the formes & Cēremonies of Govern^t & magistracie fitt & necessary &c. willinge & cōmandinge &c: that all suche Orders Lawes &c: as shalbe so made by the Gou^r or Deptye &c: & suche of the Assis^ts & freemen as aforsd &c shalbe observed &c:

From these seuerall branches of the Patent it appeares, that the consent of such 7: magist^{rs} is required to euery Lawe &c: & not their presence onely to make a Court, as the Answ^r: pretends: & that for these Reasons

1: Because in the 1: Branch 8: such magist^{rs} are required to be present for the Being of a Court, & not 7:

2: Because in this & the other Branche, where it declarethe their Actinge power & not their capacitye, as in the 1: Branche, it requires the Consent of 7: onely

3: This proviso beinge expressed in bothe those Branches, where all the Acting power is given to the Court it must needs be intended to be for some vse: but if it be not to give a Neg: vo: to those magist^{rs} it is vaine & vseless, nay contradictory to the form^r w^{ch} requires the presence of 8 suche magist^s to make suche a Court

4: It sayth that the Court being so Assembled, they &c: whereof the Gou^r or Depty & 6: assis^ts to be allways 7: may make Lawes &c: so that it dothe not speake heer of constituting a Court (for that is taken as in beinge now) but of what pow^r they shall have in this Court.

5: The like proviso will admitt no other interpretatiō in any like case: As if this Court should Decree that the Gov^{rs} of the Colledge or the greater pte of them (whereof the President sd be all wayes one) may make orders &c. heer the Presidents consent is required as well as his presence. So if an Order were, that the milit^r Companye &c, whereof the Captaine or Leutt & 2: other of the Officers to be allways 3 might receive in any to their Company: this gives those Officers a neg: vo: w^{thout} all Questiō.

6: This forme of proviso & no other is vsed in all Commissions or Patents where a Neg: vo: is granted, as in the Comifions of Oyer & Terminer, where thoughe there be vsually aboute 20: ioyned wth the

Judges of Assise, (who are onely of the Quoꝛ) yet they all can doe nothinge in the Court without the Judges consent. So it is in many like cases, if it were needfull to recite them: so it is in the Comfisiõ of the Peace, where vpon 20: yeares experience, I never knew any Cause Carried by vote ag^t suche as were of the Quoꝛ: if the Answ: hathe knowne any I wishe he would produce it. It is true, that the Judges in every Court are all of equall power by the first *A/signauimus* in their comfisiõ, yet where the Kinge or the Lawe, shall in some Cases enlarge the power of some, & restraine others, by the same Comfisiõ, their power must be exercised accordingly. whence I must Conclude, that either these words in o^r Patent doe give the magistrat^s a Neg: vo: or els there was never any Neg: vo: granted by any Patent or Comissõ by any kinge of England since Edw: the 3^d tyme: let the Answ^r: shewe some other forme of words vsed to that purpose, or he must yeild the Cause.

As for that w^{ch} he alledge the out of the stat' of 33: H: 8: it is nothinge to the purpose: beinge made for Colledg^s Deaneries &c: & extends onely to suche Affaires, wherein they Acte meerly as Corporations, as Leasinge their lands &c: but it extends not to the Acts of Courts in Corporations: for then it had taken awaye the Neg: Vo: from the Houses of Parlm^t, for these are allso a corporatiõ (as m^r Prine shewes in his late booke in defence of the Parliam^t) And besides, the Statuts of England doe not binde in any other pt^t out of that kingdome, So as the kings Lres Patents are not included in that Statute.

The 2: Questiõ is, whither this forme of Gouvern^t be fundamentall in o^r Com: w:

That it is such thus I proue.

1: Such forme of Gouvern^t as is rightly built vpõ the first foundatiõ, is fundamentall: But this is so: therefore it is fundamentall.

The propositiõ is vndenyable.

The Assumptiõ I proue by the words of the Patent & the Order of o^r Court made An^o 1634.

2: That w^{ch} makes a specificall difference betweene one forme of Govern^t & another is essentiall & fundamentall. But the Neg: vo: in the magistrat^s dothe so in o^r Govern^t therefore it is essentiall and fundamentall.

The Assumptⁿ is proved by this, that if the Neg: vo: were taken awaye o^r Governm^t would be a meere Democratie whereas now it is mixt. This I proue thus:

Where the Chief Ordinary power & administratiõ thereof is in the

people there is a Democracie: This I prove thus, If it be in the Deptyes it is in the people, but it wilbe in the Deptyes: 5^o &c, for they are but the representative bodye of the people, & the matter lyes not in the number of the people Afsembled, but in their power: Againe the people are not bounde to sende their Deptyes, but they may come themselves, if they will And thoughe the magistrats be ioyned wth them in the Court, as they were in Athens & other popular stats in Greece &c: yet they serve but as Councillors, seinge they shall haue but their single votes, as every one of the people hathe. Lastly the Answ: himselfe confessesthe, that the Deptyes are the Democraticall pte of o^r Gouvern^t (19)

Now if we should change from a mixt Aristocratie to a meere Democratie: first we should haue no warrnt in scripture for it: there was no such Govern^t in Israell.

2: we should heerby voluntarily abase o^r selues, & deprive o^r selues of that dignitie, w^{ch} the providence of God hath putt vpon vs: w^{ch} is a manifest breach of the 5th Com^t: for a Democratie is, among most Civill nations, accounted the meanest & worst of all formes of Govern^t: & therefore in writers, it is branded wth Reproachfull Epithits as *Bellua mutorū capitū*, a monster, &c: & Historyes doe recorde, that it hath been allwayes of least continuance & fullest of troubles.

And whereas the Answ^r: would helpe this by investinge the Deptyes wth office & magistracye (18) I shall shewe his mistake heerin in its pp place, & wth all how it would overthrow the power of the Deptyes, & so of the gen^l Court, if suche an opinion should be allowed.

To the 3: Qu: whither the Neg: vo: in the magistr^a be lawfull, & expedient for o^r State, I shall referre the reader to what is allreadye written in the Discourse &c: for I conceive the Argum^{ts} there are not weakened by any thinge in the Answ: Seinge the maine strengthe of all that is objected depends vpon his misinterpretatiō of the Patent, & of the Order of 34: w^{ch} (I hope) wilbe sufficiently cleared in this Replye: & for what may need any further light, I shall afforde a word or 2: about it, in its pp place.

The 4th Qu: is about the pp place & power of the Deptyes.

ffor clearinge of this I shall need onely to explaine more fullye, what I wrote in the Discourse: least some others might fall into the same mistakes w^{ch} the Answ^r: hathe.

Thus therefore I laye it downe.

1: They haue the same place & power w^{ch} the ffreemen assembled in a Gen^l Court ought to have: according to the Order of 34:

2: These, ioyned wth the magistrats in any gen^{tl} Court have (together wth them) all the power legislatiue, & the cheife power Juditiall, of this bodye Politick

3: Neither the Magistr^{ts} alone, nor the Deptyes alone w^{thout} the consent eache of other, in any gen^{tl} court, haue any power at all.

4: The Deptyes are no magistr^{ts} nor (considered alone) haue any iudiciary power. this Js proved,

1: By the Patent w^{ch} gives the freemen (whom they represent) no suche power, in any gen^{tl} Court. It also provids that every magistrate or officer of the Court, before he exercise his office, should take the Oathe therevnto belonging: but neither the ffreemen in Engld, nor the Deptyes heer haue vsed to take any suche Oathe, nor is there any Oathe appointed for them by Lawe: nor is there any power in this Govern^t, to administer an Oathe to them, in suche maner as the Patent p^rscribes, for it must be administred to them, before they exercise any Aut^ye, & then there is not any Aut^ye sufficient to give it them: & let any indifferent man Judge whither the Patent (w^{ch} looked at the wholl bodye of ffreemen) did ever intende, that they should take an Oathe as Officers in the Court: w^{ch} if it had, it would sure have been putt in practice, in the first Courte in London, when they did all things by learned Counsell in Lawe, there would haue been an Oathe framed for them, as well as for the Gov^r Deptye & Assis^{ts}. or there would haue been some suche Clause incerted to the Oathe of freemⁿ, so as it is plaine, that by the Patent, there was no suche office or Juditiary power given, or intended, to them, as the Answ: pretends, but onely that they should Acte as ffreem^e &c.

And if the Answ^r had considered, what would necessarily followe vpon this newe office & magistracye, to w^{ch} he would have the Deptyes to be sett apte from the bodye of ffreemen (as well as the magistr^{ts}) he would rather have left them still in their prop place: ffor whereas the Patent allowes none to be members of the gen^{tl} Court, but the Gov^r Deptye, Assis^{ts} & company of ffreemen, if the Deptyes be invested wth any other Office (as the Answ: would haue them) they can be no members of that Court, nor haue any vote there,

But leavinge him to retracte this error, amonge many others (as I shall manifest heerafter) it is w^{thout} controversye, that the Deptyes are the same company of freemen whom the Patent intends, & neither haue, nor (I suppose) doe seeke any other office or power, then what belongs to the ffreemen, bothe by the Patent, & by the orders of o^r Court.

This shall suffice in waye of Replye to the substance of the Answear. I would haue stayd heer, but that I finde (amonge his many mistakes) some, w^{ch} for want of clearing, may pchance mislead the reader for the readye findinge of them I haue put to them such figures as I haue noted them by in the Answ^r:

(1) In the Discourse I bringe an Instance of the Elders Judgm^t in a like case, to this effecte, that the choosing of a man to the office of a Councillor dothe not make him a magist^r from whence he inferres (not observinge the similitude) that I make the Deptyes to be no more but Councillors.

(2) When I saye, that the foundatiō of the peoples power is their lib^{tye}, he inferres, that I denie them to have any power: whereas my meāige appeares clearly to be onely this, that their freedome from any other power, makes them no otherwise subiecte, then accordinge to their will, & Covenant.

(4) He demands what will become of those Lawes, to w^{ch} the maior pte of the Assist^s have not agreed? I Answ: If they have not expressed their Consent to every Lawe, yet seeinge there is no recorde of their dissent it is enoughe, & this q^r might have been spared.

(5) He reproues vs, that in o^r begininges we sware, suche as we Admitted to freedome, to the Autye of the Gov^r & other the magistr^s &c, & not of the Gov^r &c & companye &c:

I answ : 1: we did not sweare them to the psons but to their Autye w^{ch} was no other (nor was any other challenged) then what was established by Patent, & every man that tooke the Oathe, could vnderstand it no otherwise, though the expresse words of the Patent were not observed, nor Could so proply be at o^r first cominge, when we had no freemen, besides the magistr^r (that I remember) nor were there any Considerable company of them, for a good tyme after: 2: those who sawe the multitude of o^r other vrgent Affaires & difficultyes we encountered wth, & the little Court businesse we had, would easily allowe vs pardon of that, or greater errors (w^{ch} are incident to all Plantations, in their begininges, espec^{ly} seeinge o^r Readinesse to reforme them, & to conforme to the right Rules of o^r Govern^t.

(6) He denyethe that by the Order of 34th: the power given by Patent to 7: mag^{ts} is so altered, as that the maior pte should stand instead of the 7: Answ: It is true, it is not in the same words, but the same clearly in effecte: for the Patent saythe the 7: must be allways a pt of the maior pte &c: & the Order of 34: saythe that no Lawe &c: wthout consent of the maior pte. such content^s about words had

been better forborne. he that will *nodum in stirpes querere*, may finde himselfe worke enoughe but to little purpose.

(8) Heer is another objects *eiusdem farinae* wth the former: about the words Neg: vo: not beinge expressed neither in the Patent nor in the order of 34: w^{ch} I shall speake more fully vnto heerafter.

And heer he thrusts in an Argum^t or 2: ag^t the Order of 34: in respecte of the comōn constructiō that is made of it, for the Neg: vo:

1: That (if it be in that order) it was so invloved amongst other things that the intent of it was not so distinctly discouered, nor so clearly established: ffor Answ: I will sett downe the words of the order; No Lawe &c: shall passe, as an Acte of the Court, w^{thout} the Consent of the greater parte of the magistr^s of the one pte, & the greater nūber of the Deptyes on the other pte: Now, (to cleare the Court of that ignorance, or vnwarinesse w^{ch} the Answ^r would cast vpon it) I wishe the reader to Judge, how the Neg: power of the magistr^s could have been more distinctly sett downe, or more clearly established.

2: That by the Neg: vo: the entire vnion would be dissolved. Answ: 1: It will as well be dissolved by the Neg: power of the Deptyes (w^{ch} cañot be taken from them) & then disparitye in any societie or bodye will doe the like: w^{ch} is a Tenet ag^t all experience, & the verry Course of Nature: for heerin would the Lord o^r God, have his excellent wisdome & power appeare, that he makes (not the disparitye onely but) even the contrarietye of pt^s, in many bodyes, to be the meanes of the vpholding & vsefullnesse thereof.

3: suche a vnion as he aymes at, to consist of Individualls of the same kinde, is bothe ag^t the Patent & the Order also: for bothe doe expressly distinguish the genⁿ Court into severall pts: as the words declare.

(9) He denyes the Neg: v: to be a fundamentall Lawe, by this Argum^t that the Court in 34 wherein this Lawe was established restraines the 4: genⁿ Courts to 2: Ans: by the same Reason it would followe, that one Lawe in any Court beinge void, all the Acts of that Court should be voyd also.

(10) He denyes the Judgn^t of the Elders about the changinge any form of Govern^t to be as I have reported it: for this I referre the Reader to their Answere.

(11) 13) He saythe that we may not imitate the Parliam^t of Engld:

1: because of the disproportionē betweene that Court & o^r.

2: beç o^r magistra^s are not of the Nobility, as the vpper house

there is. Answ: He will not denye, but we may & must imitate o^r Lord Jesus Christ, where there is a greater disproportion: And reason will teach vs to imitate those, in whom is founde the greatest measure of wisdom & vertue: & though e o^r Court holde no proportiō wth that, in degrees, yet it dothe in pts: & so a child may strive to imitate a man in speakinge walkinge, tempance &c, But the Answ^r: forgatt his owne Rule, when he holds forthe o^r Court in imitatiō to that in their Stile of High & Eminent: w^{ch} is too far aboue o^r Capacitye. And if he would yeeld them a Neg: v: in respecte of their Nobilitye: the reason is stronger for o^r magist^r: for those Nobles represent onely their owne families, but o^r magist^{rs} doe represent the Autye of all the people as well as the deptyes doe that power & Libtye w^{ch} they have reserved to themselves.

(12) He would seeme heer to Affirme that the house of 'Comons in Engld have Ordinary Juditiary power: & sure he would have spoken it out, if he had knowne it had been so, but he would haue vs shewe, that ever they made any vniust Lawe, or putt any iñocent pson to deathe: Ans: when he shall shewe vs any Lawe made by them, (in ordinary course) or any pson (iñocent or nocent) adiudged to deathe by them, I will then satisfie his demande: In the meane tyme, I am readye to shewe him some vniust Lawes made, & some iñocent ptyes put to deathe by their consent.

And whereas he dothe taxe me wth likeninge that High Court to a grand Jurye because, when I speake of their impeachinge any pson, I explaine it by the word indite, as more comonly knowne, & of the same signifiatiō. I leave this to equall iudgm^t.

ffurther it may be observed, that when he speakes of the safetie &c: in the Judgm^t of the Deptyes, rather then in the magist^{rs}, he reckons them 40: & these onely 4: or sometymes 5: whereas he knowes the magistrats are 10: or 11: & as they are not allwayes present, no more are the Deptyes, Beside his Argument from the disproportion betweene 40: and 4: is a meere fallacye: for it was never knowne, that the magist^{rs} have stood alone in any opiniō, wthout a considerable pte of the most able Deptyes concurringe wth them: Nor have the magistrats any suche power, ouer the peoples liues & libtyes by their Neg: vo: as the Answ^r: pretends: but onely to preserve them, if by any ocatiō they should be in danger: I cañot liken it better to any thinge then to the brake of a windmill: w^{ch} hathe no power, to move the runinge worke: but it is of speciall vse, to stoppe any violent motiō, w^{ch} in some extraordinary tempest might otherwise endanger the wholl fabricke.

(13) Heer he chargethe me wth Crofsinge my selfe: beç in one propositiō I saye, that in the magistr^s & Deptyes ioyned &c: is the wholl power iuditiarye &c: & after I denye the people alone to have any Juditiary power. in the gen^l Court. where this Crofsinge lyes, I confesse, I cañot see.

(15) Whereas I saye, we should incurre Scandall, by vndervaluing the gifts of God, as wisdome, learninge &c, & the Ordinance of magistracye, if the Judgm^t & Autye of any one of the Com: ranke of the people, should beare equall weight, wth that of the wisest & cheifest magistrate: this he layethe to my charge, as a Scandall indeed: & heer & in (17) he makes a longe discourse, besides the scope of my Argum^t & intentiō: ffor I acknowledge (& have allwayes so doone) that there are of the Deptyes men of wisdome & learninge sufficient, & it may be, not inferiō^r to some of the magistrat^s: but yet, if in Com: repute (especially in forreine pts) the magistrats be looked at, as men preceeding in gifts & experience (for otherwise the people are misguided in their Choyce) then the Scandall will remaine not wth stādinge. & besides I speake not positively but hypothetically: so as if there be at any tyme one or more Deptyes so weake, as will holde no proportiō wth the most able of the magistrats, then my Argument will hold good, wthout any Scandall or offence given on my pte. And whereas I stile suche a Deptye of the Com: ranke of ffreemen: I hope it is no disparagem^t to any, to be counted in that Ranke, w^{ch} is allowed equall power wth the Governo^r & Afsistants in o^r highest Court, althoughe a Depty in Court be of more value then any one freeman, seinge he represents many: yet before & after the Court, he is but as another freeman, & so cañot be counted in the same ranke wth the magistrats. And I should be willinge to learne of the Answ^r, or any other, how I might have spoken more modestly, in this & suche like passages, & not have lost the force of my Argument: w^{ch} (the Lord knowes) was the onely thinge I intended, & not to extoll the gifts &c: of the magistrats, nor to debase those of the Deptyes: for I acknowledge it my dutye, to honor the gifts of God where euer I finde them, & I hope, my ordinary practice hathe not been different.

(16) He mistakes Demurringe for Democratie, & yet the Sentence might have easily guided him to the worde.

(17) He saythe, that the Order of 34: is obsolete, because it was never putt in practice. I suppose the vse of it being knowne (for it hathe been ofte spoken off in Court) hathe kept pceedings in that good Order, that there hathe been small or no occatiō to make vse of it.

But if this were a good Argum^t, many of o^r Capitall lawes would soone be obsolete: & by the same reason, we should slight all fortifications, w^{ch} had not been Afsaulted in 10: or 20: yeares. & men should laye by their swords after they had worne them suche a tyme w^{thout} any occatiō to make vse of them. & many suche absurde conclusiōs would followe vpon suche pmisses. but to helpe the feeblenesse of his Argum^t, he tells us, the Neg: vo was once called for, but denyed in Court: for w^{ch}, seeinge he Cites not any Record or other prooffe, It shall need no Answ^r espeç seing he tells vs not, what pte, or member of the Court denyed it.

(19) He denyethe the Neg: vo: to be any forme of Gov^{rt}. because it is not (as he saythe) *forma constitutiva Gubernandi*, but *vox constituta*: that is: It is not such a forme as giues beinge to the Gouverm^t: but onely a vote constituted.

Answ: Heer againe I must give the Reader notice of a fallacie, in takinge advantage now of the stricte meaninge of those words, w^{ch} in all the former dispute haue been taken accordinge to the Com: acceptance. ffor howsoeū we haue carried on o^r discourse in the Termes of a Neg: vote, (the Questiō beinge first started, & since debated, vnder that notion) yet it is an Affirmative vote, w^{ch} is indeed controverted, & w^{ch} is granted, bothe by the Patent, & by the order of 34: for bothe doe declare, that the Consent of so many magistra^{ts} shalbe necesarye to every Lawe, order &c: Now if the Lawes &c: be essentiall to o^r Govern^t, & these can haue no beinge, but as they are Affirmed or assented to, by the magistra^{ts}, then is this Afsent (concurrent wth the rest) *forma constitutiua*, for thus reimposed, it dothe *dare esse quod sunt*. He is also mistaken in denyinge, that *vox constituta* can be essentiall to a Govern^t: for then he may as well denye that the freemens votes in Elections are essentiall: & suche a *vox constituta* is not a bare Negatiō, or *posse impedire, quod non transit in Actum*.

(15) ffor that probable instance I bringe out of Jer: 26: it will hold still, for aught is alledged ag^t it: for though the Princes ioyned wth Ahikam, yet he onely is named verse 24: (for it is like he was President) & their Neg: vo: (if not his alone) saved Jer: ag^t the minde of the Priests: as for the people they onely gave their approbatiō to it: for it is w^{thout} questiō, that the people had no Judittiall power nor vote in their Courts: for the Lord Comādinge them Deut: 16, to appoint them Judges in all their Tribes, & those should iudge them &c: he excluds them from all ordinary power of Judicature themselves.

Diverse other passages I omitt, as beinge of no weight in this controversye, & I leave them to the readers Judgm^t.

There are 2: or 3: Argum^{ts} more (w^{ch} I haue mett wth otherwhere) w^{ch} may heer also receiue Answere.

1: Magdeburge changinge theire Democratie into an Aris^t were sone after destroyed. Answ: 1: Theire destructiō did not arise out of theire newe Gover^t, nor for it; but meerly from an externall cause: viz: the Emperors displeasure ag^t them, for refusinge to choose his sonne their Administrater or Prince. 2: if this had befallen them for changinge that forme of Govern^t w^{ch} the providence of God had settled them in: it is a good warninge to vs, to take heed how we attempt to change o^r owne.

2: The Judges in England have no hand in makinge those Lawes, by which they are to Judge:

Answ: The Judges of the Kings Benche, Com^{rs}: pleas & Eschequer have not, & the reason is because they onely intende it, & are to attende the vpper house vpon all occations: but it is vndenyable, that aboue $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of bothe houses are Judges of the laws they make, in one Court or other.

3: The greatest power is in the people: therefore it should be in their Deptyes.

Answ: originally & vertually it is: but when they have chosen them Judges, &c: their Juditiary power is actually in those to whom they have comitted it & those are their magistra^{ts} in suche order as before is declared.

There Remaines one obiectiō, w^{ch} for better satisfactiō I shall endeavo^r to give a more cleare solutiō vnto, then is in my former Discourse.

ob: If the Court of Afsist^s should give an vniust sentence in any Cause, the ptye iniured can have no remedye in the gen^l Court, if the magistra^{ts} (as they are like to doe) shall psist in their former Judgm^t.

Answ: 1: If any vniust Judgm^t be given in the Court of Assist^s, it pceeds more vsually from the error of the Jury, then the corruptiō of the magistra^{ts}: who will then be competent Judges of it in another Court.

2: If suche cause be brought into the gen^l Court vpon newe evidence (w^{ch} is vsuall & most likely) then shall the magistra^{ts} have good ground, to change their Judgm^t.

3: If the magistra^{ts} be godly (as they are like to be while the frame of the Com: w: remaines suche) then if they erre in Judgment, it must

be supposed to be of infirmitye, & want of light: if so, then there is no doubt, but they wilbe readye to attende suche further helpe & light, as the wisdome & counsell of the gen^l Court may seasonably afforde.

4: If the miscarriage of the magistra^s in their Sentence, should be evident & notorious, either the shame of it would make them change their Judgm^t: or otherwise they should be made manifest to all the Countrey, to be suche as they are, & then they would be soone removed, & called to Account, & so their vniust Sentence would be reversed in a due Course.

5: Where absolute safetye cañot be pvided, (w^{ch} is & hathe been the Case of all Com: w^s, even that of Gods owne institutiō) there reasonable & probable meanes of safetye must suffice.

6: If an error in some pti^c & private Case, should want redrefse, for a tyme (w^{ch} yet is very vnlikely) then we may rest satisfied in this longe approved maxime It is better for the Com: w: that a mischeife be tollerated, then an Inconvenience indured, muche more, foundations of Govern^t overthrowne, as must needs be if this Neg: vo: be layd downe. And it is well proved & concluded by a late Juditious writer, in a booke newly come over, intituled an Answ: to Dr. Ferne, that though all Lawes, that are supstructiue, may be altered by the representative bodye of the Com: w: yet they have not power to alter any thinge w^{ch} is fundamentall.

(4) 5 — 1643.

JO: WINTHROP: Gou^r.

X.

(Referred to on p. 302.)

“LIST OF BOOKS presented to the library of Harvard College by Governor John Winthrop. The list is headed with these words: ‘Johannes Winthropus Armiger, Septies ~~Nov-Angliæ~~ Gubernator, hos libros contulit.’ The word ‘Nov-Angliæ’ is erased, and there are some traces of a word written above by way of correction; but the edge has been pared or worn from the page, and nothing remains of the word but the bottom of one letter.

1. A French Bible.
2. Bertholomæus de rerum naturâ.
3. Catechismus p Christianæ.

4. *Calvini Institutio religionis christianæ.*
5. *Chronologia in Livii Historiam.*
6. *Christianography.*
7. *Colloquium Wormaliense institutum.*
8. *The Common Prayer Booke.*
9. *Corwelii Comment. in Proverbia.*
10. *Davenatii determinationes quæstionum.*
11. *Edmund bishop of London his doctrine & homilies.*
12. *Gregorii Decretalia.*
13. *Grasseri Comment in Apocalypsin.*
14. *Harris his sermons.*
15. *Hosee cum Thargo in Hebr.*
16. *Jones on Philemon & Hebrewes.*
17. *Jacobi Fabrii opera.*
18. *Juell against Harding. / Parliament.*
19. *Junius in Genesin.*
20. *Lexicon Græcolatinum.*
21. *Livii Historia in 2 Tomis.*
22. *Ludovici homiliæ in Joñæ librum.*
23. *Musculus in Matthæum.*
24. *N. Testament with notes.*
25. *Page on the Lords Prayer.*
26. *Pashingii com̃t in catachesin.*
27. *Piccolominæus de Arte definiendi et discours.*
28. *Polani Comment in Danielelem.*
29. *Polidori Historia Anglicana.*
30. *Randalls Sermons on the Communion.*
31. *Ortus Sanitatis.*
32. *Sibthorpes advisement to Catholickes in Ireland.*
33. *Sermones discipuli de Comp.*
34. *Speculum spiritualium.*
35. *Sutton's Lectures.*
36. *Taylor on the parable of the Sower.*
37. *Theatrum terræ Sanctæ.*
38. *Whittakeri prælectiones disputationes.*
39. *The life of the Virgin Mary.*

“Such are the titles of the books as given in the original list, very imperfectly, as you perceive. The books themselves, having formed a

part of the library which was destroyed by fire in 1764, are now lost; and it is of course impossible to render the titles more perfect by inspection."

The above list was kindly sent to me by my lamented friend, Mr. Everett, while he was President of the University. It is printed here from the manuscript in his own hand, dated, Cambridge, May, 1849. I must not omit the concluding sentence of his note, which I certainly could not gainsay: "With a few exceptions, I think I may congratulate you that your honored ancestor did not transmit them to you."

XI.

ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT DESCRIBED: & THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS VINDICATED FROM THAT ASSURSION.

(Referred to on p. 324.)

Arbitrary Government described, & the common mistakes about the same (both in the true nature thereof, & in the representation of the Government of the Massachusetts, under such a notion) fully cleared. (5) 1644.

ARBITRARY Government is, where a people have men sett ouer them, without their choyce, or allowance: who haue power to governe them, & Judge their Causes without a Rule.

God onely hathe this prerogatiue: whose Sovereintye is absolute, & whose will is a perfecte Rule, & Reason it selfe; so as for man to usurpe suche Aũt^r,¹ is tiranye, & impietye.

Where the people have Libt^y to admitt, or reiect their Governours; & to require the Rule by which they shalbe governed & Judged, this is not an Arbitrarye Gouvern^t.

That the Governm^t of the Massachusetts is such, will appeare, 1: by the foundation of it: 2: by the positive Lawes therof: 3: by the constant practice, which proues a custome, then which (when it is for common good) there is no Lawe of man more inviolable.

• ¹ Authority.

1: The Foundation of this Govern^t is the Kinges Lt^{es} Patents: this gaue them their Forme & beinge, in disposinge a certaine number of persons into a bodye politike; whereby they became then (in suche a politike respect) as one single person, consisting of severall members: & appointinge to eache its proper place: it regulates their power & motions as might best conduce to the preservation & good of the wholl bodye:

The parties or members of this bodye politike are reduced under 2: kinds, Gouvernor & Companye, or Freeman: to the Governor it adds a Deputye, & 18: Assistants: in these is the power of Authority placed, vnder the name of the Governor (not as a person, but as a State) & in the other (which is named the Company) is placed the power of Liberty;—which is not a bare passive capacitye of freedom, or immunitye, but suche a Lib^{ty}, as hathe power to Acte vpon the chiefeest meanes of its owne wellfare (yet in a way of Lib^{ty}, not of Authority) & that under 2: generall heads, election, & counsell: 1: they have libtye to electe yearly (or oftener if occasion require) all their Governors, & other their generall officers, viz: suche as should haue influence (either Juditiall or ministeriall) into all partes of the Jurisdiction. 2: They haue lib^{ty} of Counsell in all the gen^l Assemblies, so as wthout their counsell & consent, no Lawes, decrees, or orders, of any publike nature or concernment, nor any Taxes, impositions, impresses, or other burdens of what kinde soeuer, can be imposed upon them, their families or estates, by any Authority in the Government: which notwithstanding remaines still a distinct member, euen in those generall Assemblies: other wise our state should be a meer Democratie, if all were Gouvernors, or magistrates, & none left to be an obiecte of Governm^t which cant fall out in any kinde of Aristocratie.

To make this cleare, we will sett downe the verye words of the Patent.

1: The words of Constitution of this bodye politike are these A: B: C: & all such others as shall hereafter be admitted & made free of the Company & society hereafter mentioned shalbe &c: one Bodye politike & Corporate, in fact & name, by the name of the Governor & Company of the Mattachusetts Baye in N: E: And that from henceforth for euer there shalbe one Governor, one Deputye Governor, & 18: Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme, constituted, elected, & chosen, out of the Freeman of the sayd Company for the tyme beinge; In such maⁿer & forme, as hereafter in these

presents is expressed, which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing & ordering of the great business & Affaires of, for, & concerning the said lands & premises hereby mentioned to be granted, & the plantation thereof, & the Government of the people there.

2: The distribution of powre follows, in these words ensuing — That the Gouvern^r of the said Company for the tyme beinge or, in his absence by occasion of sicknesse or otherwise, the Deputie Gouv^r for the tyme beinge shall haue Authoritye from tyme to tyme, vpon all occasions, to giue order, for the Assemblinge of the said Company, & calling them together, to consult & Aduise of the businesses & Affaires of the said Company :

And that the said Gouvernor Deputye Gouvernor & Assistants of the said Company for the tyme beinge shall or may once euery month or oftner at their pleasures, Assemble & hold & keepe a Court, or Assembly of themselves, for the better orderinge & directing of their Affaires :

And that any 7: or more persons of the Assistants, together with the Governor or Deputye Governor so Assembled shalbe said taken held & reputed to be, & shal be, a full & sufficient Court or Assembly of the said Company, for the handlinge orderinge & dispatchinge of all such businesses & occurrents, as shall from tyme to tyme happen touching or concerninge the said Company or plantation.

Then follows a Clause, whereby Libtye is granted to holde 4: general Courts in the yeare, wherein (with the Advice & consent of the maior parte of the ffreemen) they may admitt others to the ffreedom of the Company, they may make all subordinate Officers, & make Lawes & constitutions, for their wellfare & good Government.

Then followeth a Clause for the Annuall Election of all their Officers in these words ensuinge —

That yearly once in the yeare foreuer, namely on the last Weddensdaye in Easter Terme yearly, the Gouvernor Deputy Gouvernor & Assistants of the said Company shalbe in the generall Court or Assembly, to be held for that day or tyme, newly chosen for the yeare ensuinge, by such greater parte of the said Company, for the tyme beinge, then & there present as is aforesaid.

Then follows another branch, whereby, in any of their generall Courts, any insufficient, or delinquent Officer (of what sorte soever) may be removed, & another forthwith putt in place.

The last clause is for the Governinge of the Inhabitants within the Plantation. For it beinge the manner for such as procured

Patents for Virginia, Bermudas & the Weste Indies, to keepe the chiefe Governm^t in the hands of the Company residinge in England (& so this was intended & with much difficulty we gott it absconded) this clause is inserted in this & all other Patents wherby the Company in England might establish a Governm^t & Officers here in any forme vsed in England, as Gov^r & Counsell, Iustices of Peace, Maior, Baylyfs &c, & accordingly Mr. Endicott & others with him, were established a Gov^r & Councell heer, before the Governm^t was transferred hither: & that clause is expressed in these words:—

It shall & may be lawfull, to & for the Gouvernor &c: & such of the Freemen of the said Company for the tyme beinge, as shalbe assembled in any of their Generall Courts aforesaid, or in any other Courts to be specially summoned & assembled for that purpose, or the greater part of them, whereof the Gouvernor or Dep^{ty} Gov^r, & 6: of the Assistants to be alwayes 7: from tyme to tyme, to make, ordaine, & establish all maner of wholesome & reasonable orders Lawes statutes & ordinances directions & instructions, not contrarye to the Lawes of this our Realme of England: as well for settlinge of the formes & Ceremonies of Gouvernm^t & Magistracie, fitt & necessarye for the said Plantation, & Inhabitants there, & for naminge & stilinge of all sorts of Officers, both Superio^r & inferio^r, which they shall finde needfull for that Governm^t & Plantation; & the distinguishinge & settinge forth of the severall duties, powers & limitts of every such office &c. for disposinge & orderinge the Elections of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall &c: & for settinge downe formes of Oathes & for ministeringe of them &c: & for the directinge Rulinge & disposinge all other matters & thinges, whereby our said people inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably & civilly governed, &c:

Thus it appeares that this Governm^t is not Arbitrary in the foundation of it, but Regulated in all the partes of it.

2: It wilbe yet further found by the positive Lawes thereof:

And first by that of (3) 14-1634: where it is declared, that The generall Court only may make ffreemen: make Lawes: choose Generall officers, as Governor, Dep^{ty}, Assistants, treasurer, &c: remove suche: sett out their power & dutye: rayse monyes: dispose of lands in proprieties: not to be dissolved but by consent of the maior parte. The ffreemen of the severall Townes may send their dep^{ties} to euerye generall Court who may doe all that the bodye of ffreemen might doe, except in Election of magistrates & officers.

And in the 67: Lib^{ty}, it is thus described viz — It is the constant Lib^{ty} of the freemen, to choose yearly, at the Court of Election, out of the freemen, all the generall Officers of this Iurisdiction. If they please to discharge them at the Court of Elections, by vote, they may doe it without shewing Cause: but if at any other generall Court, we hould it due Iustice, that the Reasons thereof be alledged & proved. By Generall officers, we meane our Governor, Dep^{ty} Gov^r, Assistants, Treasurer, Generall of our Warres, & our Admirall at Sea; & suche as are, or may be hereafter, of like generall nature.

3: Accordinge to these fundamentall Rules, & positie Lawes, the Course of Governm^t hath been carried on in the practice of publicke Administrations to this verry daye, & where any considerable obliquitye hath been discerned, it hath been soone brought to the Rule & redressed: for it is not possible in the infancye of a plantation, subiecte to so many & variable occurrents, to holde so exactly to Rules, as when a state is once settled.

By what hath been allreadye manifested, this Governm^t is freed from any semblance of Arbitrarinesse either in the forme of it, or the generall officers in it, which is the first branche in the description of Arbitrary Govern^{mt}.

The other Branche (wherein the maine question lyes) is concerninge the Rule: so as if it shall appeare also, that the Governor & other officers are prescribed suche a Rule, as may be required of them in all their Administrations, then it must needs be granted, that this Governm^t (even in the present state thereof) is, in no respect, Arbitrarye.

I might shewe a cleare Rule out of the Patent it selfe, but seeing it is more particularly (& as it were *membratim*) deliniated in later Lawes, I will beginne there (3) 25-1636: It was Ordered, that untill a bodye of ffundamentall Lawes (Agreeable to the word of God) were established, all causes should be heard & determined, accordinge to the Lawes allreadye in force: & where no Lawe is, there as neere the Lawe of God as maybe. To omitt many particular Lawes enacted upon occasion, I will sett downe onely the first Auty^e in the Lib^{ties}: which is as heere followeth — No mans life shalbe taken awaye: no mans honor or good name shalbe stayned: No mans person shalbe arrested, restrained, banished, dismembred, or any wayes punished: No man shalbe deprived of his wife or children: No mans goods or estate shalbe taken awaye from him: or any waye endamaged, under colour of Lawe or Countenance of Auty^e: unlesse it be by the vertue or equitye of some expresse Lawe of the Country^e, warrantinge the

same, established by a generall Court & sufficiently published: or, in case of the defecte of a Lawe in any particular case, by the worde of God, and in capitall cases, or in cases concerninge dismembringe or Banishment, accordinge to that worde, to be Iudged by the Generall Court.

By these it appeares, that the Officers of this Bodye politick haue a Rule to walke by, in all their administrations, which Rule is the Worde of God, & such conclusions & deductions, as are, or shalbe, regularly drawne from thence.

All Commonwealthes haue had some principles, or fundamentalls, from which they haue framed deductions to particular cases, as occasion hathe required. And though no Commonwealthe euer had, or can haue, a particular positive Rule, to dispence power, or Iustice by in every single case, yet where the fundamentalls, or generall Rule holde forth such directiō, as no great damage or injurye can befall, either the whol, or any particular parte, by any uniust sentence, or disorderlye proceedinge, without manifest breache of suche generall Rule, there the Rule may be required, & so the Governmt. is regular & not Arbitrarye.

The fundamentalls which God gave to the Commonwealth of Israell, were a sufficient Rule to them, to guide all their Affaires: we havinge the same, with all the Additions, explanations & deductions, which haue followed: it is not possible we should want a Rule in any case: if God give wisdom to discerne it.

There are some fewe cases onely (beside the Capitalls) wherein the penalty is prescribed: And the Lord could haue done the like in others, if he had so pleased; but havinge appointed Gov^{ts} upon earthe, to be his vicegerents, he hathe given them those fewe as presidents, to directe them, & to exercise his guiftes in them: Deut 17: 9: 10: 11: In the moste difficult cases, the Iudges in Supreme Auty^e, were to shewe the sentence of the Lawe: whence 3: thinges may be observed: 1: this Sentence was to be declared out of the Lawe established: though not obuius to comon understandinge 2: this was to be expected in that ordinance: therefore v: 19: the Kinge was to haue a Copey of the Lawe, & to reade them all the dayes of his life: 3: Suche a sentence was not ordained to be provided before the Case fell out, but *pro re nata*, when occasion required, God promised to be present in his owne Ordinance, to improue suche gifts as he should please to conferre upon suche as he should call to place of Governmt. In the Scripture there are some formes of Prayers & of Sermons sett downe: yet no

man will inferre from thence that mñrs should haue Sermons & prayers prescribed them for every occasion: for that would destroye the Ordinance of the ministry, i.e. a Readinge Priest might serve in that office, without any learninge or other gifts of the Spirit. So if all penalties were prescribed, the Iurye should state the case, & the booke holde forth the sentence & any Schoolboye might pronounce it: then what need were there of any speciall wisdom, learninge, Courage, zeale, or faithfulness in a Iudge?

This beinge so great a question now on foote, about prescript penalties [*much erased matter here*] it wilbe of use to search as deepe into it as we may by the light of Scripture, approued patternes & other Rationall Arguments: not tyeinge our discourse to methode, but layinge downe things as they come to hande.

England in the right constitution, is not an Arbitrary Governmt, nor is ours of the Massachusetts: yet Iuries, both there & heer, give damages, which (in vulgar sence) are Arbitrary, in most cases: as in Actions of Slander, Trespasse, Batterye, Breach of Covenant, &c: all which concerne the Peoples Lib^{ties}, no lesse than fines & other penalties: And if 12: men, who haue no Callinge to Office, may (in expectation of Gods Assistance) be trusted with mens estates in a way of distributive Iustice without a prescript Rule etc. why may not those whose callinge & Office hath promise of Assistance, have like trust reposed in them, in vindictive Iustice?

In the Libties enacted heere of purpose to prevent Arbitrary Governmt, there are neer 40: Lawes, to the violation whereof no penaltie is prescribed: nor was ever moved.

God may pronounce Sentence against an Offender, before the offence be committed, bothe by his absolute Soveraintye, & also because he foreseeth all ffacts, with all their Circumstances: & besides the least degree of the same offence deserves more then that full punishment before his Iustice: but man must proceede accordinge to his Commission: by which he cannot sentence another before he hath offended, & the offence examined, proved, layd to the Rule, and weighed by all considerable circumstances, & Lib^{tye} given to the partye to answeare for himselfe: nor is there anything more preiudiciall to a subjects Lib^{tye}, then to be sentenced before his cause be hearde.

England is a State of long standing, yet we haue had more positive & more wholesome Lawes enacted in our shorte tyme, than they had in many hundred yeares. They haue indeed some Lawes with prescribed penalties annexed, but they are for the most parte so small as doe

vnder value the least degree of those Offences: they haue xij^d for an Oathe: 5^s for Drunkenesse &c, but for all great Offences & misdemeanors, as periurye, fforgerye, Conspiracyes, Cousenages, oppression, Riott, Batteryes, & other breaches of the Peace &c: there is no penaltie prescribed: how it is in other States in Europe, I cannot relate (because we knowe not their Lawes) otherwise than what appears in their Histories, where we finde Some great offences punished, by the discretion of their Iudges.

Iustice ought to render to everye man accordinge to his deserving, eye for eye, hand for hand, etc: & Luk: 12: 47: the servant, who transgressed ag^{te} knowledge was to be beaten with more stripes than he who transgressed of ignorance: If we had a Lawe, that every lye should be punished 40^s, & 2 offenders should be convicte at the same tyme: the one a youthe of Honest conversation, never known to lye before: & now suddainly surprized with feare of some discredit, had tould a lye wherein was no danger of harm to any other: The other an olde notorious liar: & his lye contrived of purpose for a pernicious ende: It were not iuste to punish bothe these alike. As 40^s were too little for the one, soe it were too muche for the other. Besides penalties (we knowe) cōminge of *pœna*, should cause paine or greife to the offenders. It must be an Affliction, yet not a destruction except in capitall or other haynous Crimes: but in prescript penalties Auty^e shoots at adventure; if the same penalty hitti a Riche man, it paines him not, it is no Affliction to him; but if it lights vpon a poore man, it breakes his back.

Everye Lawe must be Iust in everye pte of it, but if the penaltie anexed be uniuert, how can it be held forthe as a Iust Lawe? To prescribe a penaltie, must be by some Rule, other wise it is an vsurpation of Gods prerogative: but where the Lawe makers, or Declarers canot finde a Rule for prescribing a penaltie, if it come before the Iudges *pro re nata*, there it is determinable by a certaine Rule, viz: by an ordinance sett up of God for that purpose, w^{ch} hathe a sure promise of Divine assistance, Exo: 21: 22: Deut: 16: 18: Iudges & Officers shalt thou make &c, & they shall Iudge the people wth Iust Iudgm^t: Deut: 25: 1: 2: & 17: 9: 10: 11. If a Lawe were made that if any man were founde drunken he should be punished by the Iudges according to the merit of his offence: this is a Just Lawe, because it is warranted by a Rule: but if a certaine penaltie were prescribed, this would not be iust, because it wants a Rule, but when suche a case is brought before the Iudges, & the qualitie of the pson & other circumstances consid-

ered, they shall finde a Rule to Iudge by; as if Naball, & Uriah, & one of the stronge drunkards of Ephraim, were all 3: together accused before the Iudges for drunkennesse, they could so proportion their severall sentences, accordinge to the severall natures & degrees of their offences, as a Iust & Divine sentence might appeare in them all: for a divine sentence is in the lippes of the Kinge, his mouth transgresseth not in Iudgm^t. Pro: 16: but no suche promise was ever made to a paper Sentence of humane Aut^r^e or Invention. He who hathe promised his servants to teache them what to Answere, euen in that houer, when they shalbe brought before Iudgm^t seats, etc. will also teache his ministers the Iudges what sentence to pronounce, if they will allso observe his worde, & trust in him. Care not for the morrowe, &c, is a Rule of Gen^l extent, to all cases where o^r providence may either crosse wth some Rule or Ordinance of his, or may occasion us to relye more upon o^r owne strengthe & meanes, than upon his grace & blessinge. In the Sentence w^{ch} Solomon gave betweene the 2: Harlots: 1: Kings: 3: 28: It is sayd All Israell heard of the Iudgm^t w^{ch} the Kinge had Judged: & they feared the Kinge, for they sawe that the wisdom of God was in him to doe Iudgm^t. See heer, how the wisdom of God was glorified, & the Aut^r^e of the Iudge strengthened, by this sentence: whereas in mens prescript sentences, neither of these can be attained, but if the sentence hitt right, all is ascribed to the wisdom of o^r ancestors, if otherwise, it is endured as a necessary evill, since it may not be altered.

Prescript penaltys take away the use of Admonition, w^{ch} is allso a Divine Sentence & an Ordinance of God, warranted by Scripture, as appeares in Solomons Admonition to Adonijah, & Nehemiahs to those that brake the Sabbaoth: Eccl: 12: 11: 12: the words of the wise are as goads, & as nayles fastened by the masters of Assemblys — by these (my sonne) be admonished, Pro: 29: 1: Isay 11: 4: Prov. 17: 10: A reproofe entereth more into a wise man, than 100 stripes into a foole.

Iudges are Gods upon earthe: therefore, in their Administrations, they are to holde forthe the wisdom & mercye of God, (w^{ch} are his Attributes) as well as his Iustice: as occasiō shall require either in respecte of the qualite of the person, or for a more gen^l good, or euident repentance, in some cases of less public consequence, or avoydinge imminent danger to the State, & suche like prevalent Considerations. Exo: 22: 8: 9: for thefte & suche like Trespasses, double restitution was appointed by the Lawe: but Lev: 6: 2: 5: in such cases, if the

ptye Confessed his sinne & brought his offeringe, he should onely restore the principall, & addē a fifthe pte thereto. Adultery & incest deserved deathe, by the Lawe, in Iacobs tyme (as appeares by Iuda his sentence, in the case of Thamar): yet Ruben was punished onely wth losse of his Birthright, because he was a Patriark. David his life was not taken away for his Adulterye & murder, (but he was otherwise punished) in respect of publ^e interest & advantage, he was valued at 10000: comō men. Bathsheba was not putt to deathe for her Adulterye, because the Kings desire had wth her the force of a Lawe. Abiathar was not putt to deathe for his Treason, because of his former good service, & faithfulness. Shemei was Reprived for a tyme, & had his pardon in his owne power, because of his profession of Repentance in such a season. Those w^{ch} brake the Sabbaothe in Nehemiah his tyme, were not putt to deathe, but first admonished, because the state was not settled, etc. Ioab was not putt to deathe for his murders, in Davids tyme, for avoydinge īminent publ^e danger, the sonnes of Zeruah had the advantage of David, by their interest in the men of Warre: & the Com: W: could not yet spare them. But if Iudges be tyed to a pre-script punishment, & no lib^{tye} lefte for dispensation or mitigation in any case, heer is no place lefte for wisdomē or mercye: whereas Sol^l saythe Prov: 20: 28: mercy & truth preserve the Kinge; & his throne is vpholden by mercye.

I would knowe by what Rule we may take vpon vs, to prescribe penaltyes, where God prescribes none. If it be Answ: from Gods example, I might replye 1: God prescribes none except capital, but onely in suche cases as are betweene party & party, & that is rather in a waye of satisfaction to the pty wronged, then to Iustice & intention. 2. Gods examples are not warrants for us, to goe ag^t Gods Rules: o^r Rule is to give a Iust Sentence, w^{ch} we cant doe (in most cases) before the Offence is committed etc. 5^a now may be more then 20^a heerafter & *e contra*. if examples in Scripture be warr^t for us to proceed agst Rule, then we may passe by Murders, Adulteryes, Idolatryes, etc; w^{thout} capitall punishments: then we might putt the Children to deathe for parents offences, etc:

If we should enq^{re} also of the ende of prescribing penaltyes, it can be no other but this, to prevent oppression of the people, by unīst Sentences: then I am againe to seeke of a Rule to weaken the power & Iustice of an Ordinance of God, through distruste of his providence: & promise of Assistance in his owne Ordinance: who must give the Lawe makers wisdomē etc. to prescribe Sentences? must not God? &

may we not then trust him, to give as muche wisdome etc. to suche Iudges, as he shall sett up after us? it is s^d [*blank*] when they had Iudges by Gods appointm^t, God was wth the Iudge. So may we still believe that if our posterity shall choose Iudges according to God, he wilbe wth o^r Iudges in tyme to come, as well as wth the present.

It may be further demanded, what power we haue ouer the property & estates of the succeeding generations? If we should now prescribe, where o^r posteritye should dwell: what quantities of land they should till: what places they should tende unto: what diet they should use, what Clothes they should weare etc: by what Rule could we challenge this power? Yet we haue example for some of these in Scripture, as of Ionadab the sonne of Rechab: etc: but no man will take these as warrants for us to laye suche iniunctions upon those w^{ch} come after us, because they are to haue the same interest & freedome in their estates & prop^{ty} that we haue in o^rs.

And for preventinge of oppression, &c, is there no waye to helpe that, but by breache of Rule? Shall we runne into manifest iniustice, for feare of I knowe not what future danger of it? is there not a cleare waye of helpe in suche cases, by Appeal, or Petition, to the highest Auth^{ty}? If this will not releiue, in a pticular case, we shall then be in a very ill case, for all o^r prescript penalties. Besides, there may be suche a gen^l Lawe made (as in Magna Charta) that may prevent the ouerthrowinge of mens estates, or lands, etc, by fines, etc. (and I think it as needfull, as any Lawe or Lib^{ty} we haue,) whereby the Iudges may be restrayned, wthin certaine limitts, w^{ch}, (if occasion should require to excede,) may be referred to the Gen^l Court. And in Cap^l punishm^{ts}, a Lib^{ty} in suche & suche cases, to redeeme them at a certaine rate. This would sufficiently assure the proper p^{rs}ons & estates, from any great oppression, if wthall, o^r Courts of Iudicature, were kept but by 3: or 5: magistrates at most, w^{ch} may well be ordered, wthout any deviation from o^r Patent. & so the greater number of magistrates should be free from ingagem^t in any case, w^{ch} might come to a review upon Appeal or Petition.

It is an error so to conceite of Lawes, as if they could not be pfecte wthout penalties annexed, for they are as truely distinct as light & darknesse: Lawe was created wth & in man, & so is naturall to him: but penaltie is positieue & accidentall. Lawe is *bonum simpliciter*, but *pœna* is *simpliciter malum in subiecto*: therefore Lawes may be declared & given wthout any penalties annexed.

Isay, 10: 1: Woe to them that Decree unrighteous Decrees: &

write grievousnesse, w^{ch} they haue prescribed: so that where the penaltye proues greivous by the unrighteousnesse of a prescript Decree, it will drawe a woe after it, as well as unrighteous sentences: Deut: 25: 15: thou shalt haue a pfect & a iust weight & measure: If God be so stricte in Comūtative Iustice, that every Acte therein must be by a iust & pfecte Rule, what warrant haue we, to think that we maye dispence distributive or vindictive Iustice to o^r brethren by gesse, when we prescribe a certaine measure to an uncertaine meritt.

But it wilbe objected: *volenti non fit injuria*: the people givinge us power to make lawes to binde them, they doe implicitly give their Consent to them. To this it may be Answered: that where they putt themselves into o^r power to binde them to Lawes & penaltyes, they can intende no other but suche as are iust & righteous: & althoughe their implicit Consent may binde them to outward obedience, yet it neither tyes them to satisfaction, nor frees suche Lawmakers from vnrighteousnesse, nor the Law itself from iniustice, nor will suche a Lawe be a sufficient warrant to the Conscience of the Iudge, to pronounce suche a sentence, as he knowes to be apparently disproportionable to the offence brought before him.

Althoughe my argum^t conclude ag^t prescript penaltyes indefinitely, yet I doe not deny but they may be lawfull in some cases: for an uniuersall affirmative pposition may be true, though it comprehend not euerye ptic^r, as when we saye, All the Country was rated to suche a charge, no man will conceive that euerye pson & every womⁿ etc, was rated; & when we saye suche an one was cast out by the wholl church, this is a true Speech (to comōn intendm^t) though every ptic^r member did not consent. Where any penalty may be prescribed by a Rule, so as the Iudge may pronounce a Iust Sentence, I have formerly, & shall still ioyne in it.

We will now Answer such objections as are made, ag^t the lib^{ty} required to be lefte to Iudges, in their Sentences.

1: ob: Iudges are subject to Temptations, if their sentences be not prescribed.

Answ 1: We may not transgresse Rules, to avoyde temptations: for God will have his servants exercised wth temptations, that the power of his grace may be made manifest in man's Infirmitye: A master will not sende his servant about his businesse in a darke night, to avoyde temptations of ill companie or the like w^{ch} he may possibly meet wth in the daye tyme: nor will any Christian man take in his Corne or haye before it be readye, for avoyding a Temptation of tak-

inge it in upon the Sabbaothe: we doe not forbidd wine to be brought to us, though we knowe it is a great occasiō of Temptation to sinne.

2: Those who make Lawes & prescribe penaltyes are also men subiect to Temptations: & may also miscarrye through Ignorance, heedlesnesse, or sinister respects: & it is not hard to prove, that the Lawe makers, in all states, have committed more, & more pernicious errors than the Judges: & there is good reason for it: 1: they supposing themselves tyed to no Rule, nor lyable to any accompt are in the more danger of beinge misledd: 2: he who prescribes a punishm^t in a case, wherein no pson stands before him to be judged, cannot be so warye of shedding innocent blood, or sparing a guilty pson, or committing other iniustice, as the Iudge who hathe the pson & cause before him. when Saule prescribed that Capitall sentence agst suche as should tast ought before night, if Ionathans case had then been before him he would haue Iudged otherwise. 3: Lawe makers haue not so cleare a Calling, in prescribing penaltyes, as Iudges have in passinge sentences, & therefore there cannot be expected the like blessinge of Assistance from God. Iudges are necessarily tyed to give Sentence in a Cause before them but Lawe makers are not so bounde to prescribe Sentences.

3: If a Iudge should sometyes erre in his sentence, through misprision or Temptatiō: the error or fault is his owne: & the iniurye or damage extends not farr: but an error in the Lawe resteth upon the ordinance itselfe, & the hurte of it may reache far, even to posteritye. there is more unrighteousnesse & dishonor in one uniuert Lawe then in many uniuert Sentences.

2: ob: God prescribed some certaine penaltyes: & that in cases where offences doe usually varye in their degree & meritt:

Ans^r: 1: *We haue shewed before, how God might doe it*, in regard of his absolute Soveraintye.

2: It is no Iniustice in him, because the least degree of the smalest offence, (before his Iudgm^t Seate) deserves the highest degree of punishment:

3: In some of these (as in Theft) he varieth the punishment^t according to the measure & nature of the offence. In others as death, perpetuall servitude, etc: beinge the Just Reward of suche offences in their simple nature, they haue not a fitt Subiecte, for an increase of punishment to take place upon: he who is putt to death for Adultery, cannot dye againe for Incest concurring therewth. & he who is adiudged to perpetuall servitude for stealinge 100^{li} cannot be capeable of a further sentence, for batterye.

4: In all, or most of those offences, the penaltie was in waye of satisfaction, to suche as were damnified therewith & in such cases, Iustice will not allowe a Iudge any Lib^{ty} to alter or remitt any thinge: nor can any circumstance leade to qualification: a Riche man hathe the same right of satisfaction for his goods stollen from him, as a poore man: & the poorest mans life is the life of man, as well as a princes:

5: These Presedents were given to the Iudges, not wth direction to prescribe penalties to other Lawes that had none: but wth Com^{mand}ment to give Iudgem^t in all cases, by the equity of these: (there are some formes of prayer & sermons in scripture, but this dothe not prove erg^o: all etc.)

3: ob: If the determinatiō of the Lawe were lefte to the Iudges, that were Arbitrary Governm^t: & is it not in reason the same, if the punishm^t of the Transgressⁿ of the Lawe, be comitted to them?

Ans^w, The Reason is not alike in bothe cases.

1: The determinatiō of Lawe belongs prop^{ly} to God: he is the onely Lawgiver: but he hathe given power & giftes to men to interpret his Lawes: & this belongs principally to the highest Auth^{ty} in a Com: W: & subordinately to other magistrates & Iudges accordinge to their severall places.

2: The Lawe is allwayes the same, & not changeable by any circumstances of aggravation or extenuation, as the penaltie is: & therefore drawes a certaine guilt upon every transgressor, whither he sinne of Ignorance, or ag^t knowledge, or presumptuously: & therefore Lawes or the Interpretations of them, may be prescribed wthout any danger, because no event can alter the Reason, or Iustice of them; as it may of punishments.

3: The Lawe is more gen^l, & lyeth as a burden upon all psons & at all tymes: but the penaltie reaches to none, but transgressors: & to suche, onely when they are brought under sentence, & not before.

4: It is needfull that all men should knowe the Lawes, & their true meanings, because they are bound to them, & the safety & wellfare of the Com: W: consists in the observation of them: therefore it is needfull they should be stated & declared, as soone as is possible; but there is not the like necessitye or use of declaringe their penalties before hande, for they who are godly & vertuous, will observe them, for Conscience & Vertues sake: & for suche as must be helde in by feare of punishment, it is better they should be kept in feare of a greater punishm^t: then to take lib^{ty} to transgresse, through the Contempt of a smaller.

4: ob: It is safe for the Com: W: to haue penaltyes prescribed, because we know not what Magistrates or Iudges we may haue heer-after.

Answ: 1: God foresawe, that there would be corrupt Iudges in Israel, yet he lefte most penaltyes, to their determinatiō.

2: There is no wisdom of any State can so provide, but that in many thinges of greatest concernment, they must confide in some men: & so it is in all humane Affaires: the wisest merchants, & the most warye, are forced to repose great trust in the wisdom & faithfulness of their seruants, ffactors, masters of their Shippes, etc. All States, in their Gener^{als} of Warre, Admiralls, Embassadors, Treasurers, etc: & these are causes of more pub^{lic} consequence, than the Sentence of a Iudge in matters of misdemeanor, or other smaler offences.

3: When we have provided against all cōmon, & probable events, we may & ought to trust God for safety from suche dangers, as are onely possible, but not likely, to come vpon vs: especially when o^r striving to prevent suche possible dangers, may hazard the deprivation, or weakninge of a present good: or may drawe those, or other evils, neerer vpon vs.

This discourse is runne out to more length than was intended: the Conclusion is this: The Gouverment of the Massachusetts consists of Magistrates & Freemen: in the one is placed the Auth^{ty}, in the other the Lib^{ty} of the Com: W: either hath power to Acte, both alone, & both together, yet by a distinct power, the one of Lib^{ty}, the other of Auth^{ty}: the Freemen Act of themselves in Electinge their Magistrates & Officers: The Magistrates Acte alone in all occurrences out of Court: & both Acte together in the Gen^l Court: yet all limited by certaine Rules, bothe in the greater & smaller affaires: so as the Govern^{mt} is Regular in a mixt Aristocratie, & no wayes Arbitrary.

The Returnes of the Committee of the house of Dep: concerning the Book about Arbitrary Govern^{mt}, in the examⁿ: thereof: & the votes of the house passed upon each pticular, viz:

In the 1: pte thereof

1: Concerninge the Definitiō, therein made, we conceive it is defective.

2: Concerninge the distinction therein made of the bodye Polit^k, & the members thereof, in attributing Autye to the one, & onely Lib^{ty} to the other: we finde not any suche distinctiō in the Patent.

3: Concerninge the Clause recited therein (respecting the genⁿ Court) w^{ch} gives onely Lib^{ty} to the ffreemen, to advise & Counsell, instead of power & Autye (w^{ch} the Patent allowes) we conceive it a takinge awaye of the power & priviledges of the ffreemen.

In the 2: pte of the Booke, w^{ch} concernes the Rule by w^{ch} a people should be governed, we finde these dangerous positions.

1: That genⁿ Rules are sufficient to cleare a state from Arbitrary Governm^t.

2: That Iudges ought to haue Lib^{ty} to varye from such genⁿ Rules when they see Cause.

In the followinge of the first of those 2: positions there are many dangerous passages, & bitter censurings of all penall Lawes. As

1: That they are paper Sentences of humane Autye & inventiō.

2: That mens prescript Sentences doe denye & exclude bothe the wisdom of God, & the Aut^{ty} of the Iudge.

3: That to prescribe Lawes wth certaine penaltyes is an Usurpinge of God's Aut^{ty}.

4: That a Sentence ought not to be provided before the case fall out, but imēdiate Assistance to be expected.

5: That ptic^{lr} Lawes includinge certaine penaltyes, are not Iust, wanting Rule —

The Introduction of ptic^{lr} Instances w^{ch} are brought to prove this second position, wth the Reasons & consequences, are pⁿicious & dangerous.

p ROBT BRIDGES

By order etc.

Governor Winthrop's comments on this Report, as indorsed by him on the same sheet on which he had carefully copied it, are as follows: —

Answere, the Com^{tees} have been mistaken in most of their objections.

1: The Title shewes that the Author intended not any Definitiō but a descriptiō onely, & to make it the more full & clear, he layes it downe both Affirmatively & negatively: yet a logitian may frame it into a Definitiō, — thus Arb. Gov. is a Gov. exercised wthout a Rule, — but the description is fal^s by the causes & by the effects.

2: There is no suche distinction as is observed, betweene the bodye Politick & the members thereof, for that were to distinguish betweene the wholl & the pts: but the distinction betweene the members of

that bodye, givinge Aut^{re} to the one & power of lib^{tye} to the other, is warranted by the Patent (as in other places so) ptic^{ly} in that clause, w^{ch} sayeth that the Govern^r etc, shall call the freemen to consult & Advise etc, w^{ch} is an acte of Lib^{tye} & not of Auth^{tye}. & for the other pte. of their power, w^{ch} is matter of Electiō, the late Bodie of Lib^{ties} sayth it is their constant Lib^{tye}, not Auth^{tye}.

In the 2: pte

1: We finde not any suche positiō that Gen^l Rules are sufficient to cleare a State from Arbitrary Govm^t: but we finde that the worde of God & the Lawes heer established being appointed by order of Court as a Rule for the present, are suche a Rule as may be required by the Iudges in all their Administrations, because a Rule may from thence be derived (if God give wisdom to discern it) in any parti^c. case w^h may fall out: otherwise the Law of God were not p^{er}fect, & from what better grounds shall the Lawe makers drawe all future Lawes & prescribed penaltyes:

But if the Author had expressed himselfe in the verve words of the position, yet it will admitt a safe construction, for all Lawes (not limited to ptic^r pties or occasions) are gen^l Rules, & may be so called though they have a certaine penaltye annexed.

2: Nor will the bōoke owne the 2^d position in the words expressed, but this the Iudges bothe from their office (beinge Gods vicegerents) & from diverse examples in Scripture, wh. seem to hold forthe so muche, that some lib^{tye} ought to be left to Iudges, in some cases, upon speciall occasions to hold forthe the mercye of God, as well as his Iustice: nor doe we consider, that either in the Com: W: of Israell, or in any other, the Iudges haue been wholly restreyned of suche Lib^{tye}.

In the followinge Argum^t. —

If the Committee had founde suche dangerous passages, as they intimate, they should have doone well to haue imparted their ptic^r observations therein unto us, that we might haue considered of them, for want whereof it cant be expected, we should deliver any opinion about them. The like we may saye for suche bitter censurings as they mentiō: onely it is usuall for men to call suche thinges bitter, w^h themselves disrelishe, though they may be harmelesse & wholesome not w^hstandinge.

ffor the 5: ptic^s mentioned, they are delivuered as Argum^{ts} or the Consectaryes thereof, so as the Argum^{ts} must first be avoyded, before any Iudgm^t can be given about them.

The examples w^h the Author alledge the out of Scripture, are onely

to shewe how God hathe sometymes (in his wisdome & mercye) dispensed wth the rigor of his owne Lawe: & that Princes haue sometymes doone the like, upon publick or other prevalent considerations, w^h cant be denyed to be a trueth: & for the warrant they had for it, beinge (at the most) disputable, it was as free for him to deliuer them in his owne & some other learned & godly mens apprehensions, as it is for others who differ therein: & there can be no more danger in this, then in other bookes & Sermons, where the same or other passages of Scripture are truely reported, though not applied to the sense of every godly man, as if one should reason thus: Dauid putt the Amorites to torture, therefore, in some cases it is lawfull so to doe: this will not be iudged a pⁿitious doctrine though some godly men doe question the warrantableness of the example. The like may be said of all suche examples in scripture as are controverted amonge godly & learned men: but it is otherwise in suche places as are not questionable, as if a man should reason thus: Dauid sentenced Mephibosheth before he heard him: therefore it is lawfull for a Iudge so to doe, — this might truly be sayd to be a pⁿitious doctrine; or if one should argue thus: Saul made a lawe wth a prescript penaltie of deathe to him that should transgresse it, therefore it had been iust, that Ionathan should have bene putt to deathe for transgressinge that lawe: or therefore it is lawfull for Princes etc: to prescribe penalties at their own pleasures; — these might be iudged to be pⁿitious doctrines; because the example is unquestionable, etc.

THE AUTHOR'S REVIEW OF HIS WRITING.

That w^h gave me occasion first to enq^r after a Rule for prescript penalties, was the inequality I sawe in some prescribed sentences upon the breache of diverse morall Lawes: & proceedinge in this enquirey, I kept my intention still upon that subiect, wthout respect to suche Lawes as are meerly positive, havinge their Auth^r onely & wholly from human^e Institutions: therefore you shall find that all my instances are of that kinde, & all my Arguments looke that waye, as in the Instances I bringe of the Lawes of Engl^d. If I had intended the positive & Statute Lawes, it had been a great mistake, for I know well that most of the later Statute Lawes haue their penalties pscribed, & it must needs be so, for suche as are meerly positive; for a Iudge can haue no Rule for his Sentence upon the breache of suche a Lawe except he haue it from the Lawe itself: as, for instance, if the Lawe

w^{ch} forbids any man to kill an hare or partridge wth a gunne, had not also sett downe the penaltye, the Iudge could not haue founde out any, w^{ch} might haue been iust, because no Lawe of God or nature makes suche an Acte any offence or transgression. But for the Co^mon Lawes of Engl^d (w^{ch} are the Ancient Lawes & of farre more esteeme for their wisdome & equitye then the Statute Lawes) they had no penaltyes prescribed, & it may be conceiued that for suche of them as were grounded upon the worde of God, & the light of nature, there must needs be that in the same Worde & in the same light of nature (especially where the image of God in man is in pte renewed by Christ) w^{ch} may lead us to a iust punishm^t for the Transgressor of such a Lawe. Nor doe I oppose all prescript penaltyes in morall cases but onely suche as doe crosse some cleare Rules in the worde of God, as will appeare by all my Arguments. And for avoydinge all danger to the subiect for want of prescript penaltyes in some Cases you may see that to require some suche Lawe to be made, as may limitt Iudges wthin suche bounds of moderatiō, as may prevent such dangers, & [it] is one of my expresse conclusions in the first page, that Iudges ought to be tyed to a Rule & suche a Rule, as may be required of them in all their Administrations, & therefore upon what grounde I should be charged to assert Arbitrarie Governm^t, & that Iudges should haue Lib^{ty} to doe what they maye, I leaue to your judg^t.

As for Lawes, you shall finde also, that I conclude the necessitye of declaringe & statinge them, so as all the people may knowe them, for I euer held it uniust, to require of men the obedience to any Lawe, w^{ch} they may not (by co^mon Intendm^t) take notice off. Answearable thereunto hathe been my practice. All the usefull Lawes we haue, had my consent, & suche poore helpe as the Lord enabled me, to yield to them: some of w^{ch} haue prescribed penaltyes, & where I haue wthhelde my consent to any suche penaltyes, I haue giuen my reasons for it, w^{ch} haue been suche as in some Cases haue satisfied the Court, & therein I haue taken no more lib^{ty} then is allowed to euery member of the Court. I will not iustifie every passage in my booke: there are 2: or 3: words that offence hathe been taken at, & although I can giue a safe account of them, yet I must confesse they doe not nowe please me, but when the matter is good, & the intention of the writer honest, the Lorde forbids us to make a man an Offender in word.

Whatsoever is erroneous (I say as I did from the first) I shall leaue it to its due censure: but for all that is of God, & of the trueth, or the sincerity of my intentions herein to the publ^e weale, or

the Lib^{ty} I had by my place to propounde suche considerations to the Court, if these be questioned I must stande & fall wth them.

JO: WINTHROP.

XII.

ROUGH DRAFT OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S LETTER TO THE EARL OF WARWICK.

(Referred to on p. 329.)

R^T. HON^{BLE} & MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

Your Lo^{pp}s lettres by Mr. W: I rec^d the 7th of July, w^h were occasion of comfort to me, bothe for your Lo^{pp}s wellfare, & for y^r constant hearty affection to o^r Colony, & y^r undeserved favor to my selfe, yo^r most unworthy servant, w^h shall so farre oblige me to y^r good Lo^{pp}, as my poore prayers & indeavors shalbe euer improued for yo^r honor & wellfare.

Now knowinge that w^h yo^r Lo^{pp} desires to be satisfied in, I shall truly relate to you the state of the Country & o^r present condition therein, so fully & faithfully as you shall not need to inquire any further thereabout.

For the Country, it is for the most pte a light soyle, black earth above & sand beneath: it is very well watered wth rivers, brookes & springs, wth faire levels of good meadowe in many places, but much of it is full of hassocks & wett for want of drayninge.

The Timber is Oak & pine, wth some elme & ashe in the swampes, w^{ch} are not bogge as in Ireland, but in the summer they are dry & fine lande. By the Sea Coast there is store of salt marsh, w^{ch} is for 3: 4 or 5 foote a meere Turfe, w^{ch} will burne well, yet it beares very fine benty grasse, w^{ch} will maintain cattle well both in summer & winter.

The ground is most apte for Rye & sūmer wheate w^{ch} afford sometymes 30: or 40 ſs of an acre, yet after 2: or 3: Cropes not aboute halfe so much, except cost be bestowed upon it. Diverse haue found by experience that 2: or 3: Cropes of Rye will come of one Seedinge, & wthout any nue ploughinge. There is also this yeare great store of pease & barley, as good as I haue seen ordinarily in England.

All sorts of English fruits & garden stuffe, prosper very well heere. We haue a croppe of Corne now upon the ground that (in the best judgm^t) may be sufficient to serve o^r people for neere 2: yeares.

Our Cattle thrive & increase as well as in Engl^d & are of a large size.

The ayre is pure & healthfull, w^{ch} makes it the more hott in summer & the sharper in winter.

Our winters are longe, so as we are forced to provide foder for o^r cattle for 5: months, yet many tymes the winter is very milde, & the snowe lyes so little tyme as 3: or 4 monthes provision will suffice o^r Cattle. The sea affords great store of Codd & many other sorts of fish, w^{ch} may be had (some of them) all seasons of the year. Sea Fowle heere is store, but not so easily to be taken now as at o^r first cominge. Heere are also Partridges & heathe geese, & great multitude of pigeons, & Deare, but the Country is too full of Coverts for hunting or hawking. Yet a man may ride all over the Countrey, except the swamps w^{ch} are very vaste & hideous.

Many woulves & foxes heere are, w^{ch} doe us much damage, but there is no wild beast will assault a man.

For o^r Gov^t, it is mixed, the freemen (who are all Church members) choose the Magistrates & cheife Officers, & Deputyes, who make all the Lawes & levye monyes & minister Iustice, wthout any appeale to the people. All o^r magistrates are chosen anewe every yeare. We haue in o^r Iurisdiction 20: townes, & in euery of them a Company gathered into Church fellowship. Most of them haue 2: mins^{rs} & one or two: ruling Elders. The mins^{rs} are sustayned in some Churches by a treasury raised by a weekly contribution; in some others by a voluntary taxation.

O^r Courts are of 2: sorts — the Gen^l Courts are for makinge of lawes & levying moneys, to w^h every towne sends one or 2: Deputyes. & the other Courts held by the magistrates w^h are for Iudicature. The Mins^{rs} haue great power wth the people, whereby throughe the good correspondency betweene the magistrates & them, they are the more easily gouerned. [*torn*]

XIII.

EPITAPH APPENDED TO DR. COTTON MATHER'S SERMON
AT THE FUNERAL OF THE HONORABLE WAIT WINTHROP,
WHO DIED NOV. 7, 1717.

(Referred to on p 398.)

EPITAPHIUM.

STA, Viator;
Tumulumque mirare;
Et Lacrymis Publicis adde Tuas;
Luge jacturam Publicam,
Si sis pars publici.
PALATIUM est hic Locus, non TUMULUS.
Cinis tegitur hoc Marmore,
Dignus Lapide Philosophorum tegi.
Quatuor conduntur in hoc Tumulo WINTHROP;
Qui vel Quatuor orbis partes ditare sufficerent.
Ignorat Historiam Nov-Anglicanam qui hanc nescit Familiam:
Parvi pendet virtutem Universam qui hanc non magni facit.
Horum Ultimus hoc cœmeterium ingressus,
WAIT WINTHROP, Armiger,
Cujus hæc ultima Laus fuerit,
Quod primos NOV-ANGLIÆ Honores gesserit.
Fuit, Ah, FUIT!
NOV-ANGLORUM decus ac Tutamen;
Lumen et Columen.
MASSACHUSETTENSIS Coloniz
Instructor Exercituum,
Generosus, at Pacificus;
Et qui pro patria et pro pace mori potuit.
Provinciæ CONSILIARIUS primarius,
cui prima fuit semper cura,
Ne quid R. P. detrimenti caperet;
Et in quo uno plures obierunt.
JUDEX prætorius,
Qui Justitiam atque Clementiam aequè coluit.
Maximis Regionis perfunctus Honoribus;
Quos gessit Honores, Ornavit;
Quos non gessit, meruit.
Cum sinceritate PIUS,
Cum integritate PROBUS;
Ingenii Cælestis ac Modesti,
Infra se omnia posuit,
se infra omnes.

Benignus erga cunctos,
 Erga Indigos ac Egenos Benignissimus.
 Ab eo nemo Injuriam accepit, etiam Inimicus;
 Nemini Inimicus fuit,
 etiam Injuriis Lacessitus.
 Ab eo miser nemo rejectus,
 Pauper nemo exclusus;
 Nemo unquam recessit iratus.
 MEDICINÆ Peritus;
 Qui Arcanis vere Aureis, et auro preciosioribus potitus;
 Quæque et *Hippocratem* et *Helmontium* latuerunt,
 Remedia panacæasque Adeptus;
 Invalidos omnes ubicunque sine pretio sanitati restituit;
 Et pene omnem Naturam fecit Medicam.
 Qui jam sub hoc saxo dormit mortuus,
 Vivit in Cordibus multorum, imo millium,
 Quorum vitas prolongavit.
 WINTHROPI merita cum WINTHROPO
 non funerabit Oblivio.
 Natus 27 d. XII m. 1641.
 Denatus 7 d. IX m. 1717.
 Annum *Septuagesimum Sextum* agens moritur,
 Cui mille Annorum Vitam,
 Et plusquam *Methusalemiticam*, optarunt,
 Quibus Vita chara, superstites.

It can hardly be credited that this epitaph was ever actually inscribed on the family tombstone. Yet an old manuscript, believed to be in the handwriting of John Winthrop, F.R.S., the eldest son of the foregoing, and which contains the following translation of the epitaph, speaks of it, as will be observed, as having been "written in Latin on the Winthrop tomb." This old manuscript runs as follows:—

The following is the translation of an Epitaph written in Latin on the tomb belonging to the Winthrop family.

STAND Traveller
 And Admire the Tomb,
 And to the Public tears add your own;
 Bewail the public Loss,
 If of the public you are part.
 This place is a Prince's Court,
 Rather than a Tomb.
 This Marble covers dust
 Worthly to be enclosed in Gold.

Four WINTHROPS lie buried in this Tomb;
 Who were sufficient to enrich even the four quarters of the Earth.
 He is unacquainted with the history of New England
 Who is ignorant of this family;
 And he has no regard to Universal Virtue
 That does not highly value It.
 The last of these
 Here Interred¹
 Was WAIT WINTHROP, Esquire,
 Whose last Honour was this,
 That he was Governor of New England;
 He was, alas! he was!
 Of New England the Glory and defence
 The Light and Stay.
 MAJOR GENERAL of Massachusetts Colony,
 Of a noble yet peaceful Disposition
 And who for his Country and for peace could die.
 PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL for the Province
 Whose chiefest care it always was,
 That the Commonwealth might receive no damage;
 And in whom many died.
 CHIEF JUDGE,
 Who paid an equal regard to Justice and Clemency.
 He went through the most honorable stations in the Government,
 And adorned the honours which he bore,
 Deserving those he bore not.
 A person of the most undissembled piety
 And unspotted probity,
 Of an Exalted yet Modest Genius,
 He placed all things beneath himself,
 Himself beneath all Men.
 Benevolent towards all,
 And most so to the Poor and Needy;
 Injurious to none, not even to Enemies.
 An Enemy to none,
 Even though highly provoked.
 No unhappy person was by him rejected,
 Nor poor one refused admittance,
 Nor did any ever go away displeased.
 He was skilful in PHYSICK;
 And being possessed of Golden secrets,
 Indeed more valuable than Gold itself;

¹ Among the more recent tenants of this tomb are the late Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, for many years Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Bowdoin Winthrop, and his elder sister, Mrs. Anne Winthrop Sears (the mother of Hon. David Sears), whose name is inscribed on the present tablet.

And having obtained universal remedies,
 Which *Hippocrates* and *Helmont* never knew,
 All that were sick, wherever he came,
 He freely restored to Health;
 And made almost his whole study of Nature
 Subservient to Medicine.
 He that under this stone now sleeps in Death
 Still lives in the Hearts of Thousands,
 Whose Lives he has prolonged.
 The merits of WINTHROP with Him
 Oblivion shall not bury.
 He was born the 27th day of December, 1641,
 Died the 7th day September, 1717,
 In the 76th year of his Age.¹
 They who value Life and still enjoy it
 Wished him a Thousand years continuance here,
 An age exceeding that of Methuselah.

Cotton Mather, in composing this Epitaph upon his friend Wait Winthrop, clearly forgot the commendation of *brevity* with which he had introduced the following Epitaph upon John Winthrop, the Third, (commonly known as Fitz-John Winthrop), at the close of the Sermon preached at his funeral, just ten years before : —

EPITAPHIUM.

Of Old, The Shorter the Epitaph, the Better and Brighter it was accounted; so it contained the Achievements of the Person there Deposited. Plato thought Four Lines Enough: And these Few Lines, if not Enough, yet will carry a great deal of Merit in them.

LECTOR.

Lacrymis Publicis nunc adde Tuas;
 Meretur utrasque Jactura Publica.
 Hic jacet,
 Johannes Winthropus Tertius.
 Nescit Historiam Novanglicam qui hanc Familiam nescit.
 Fuit
 Johannis Winthropi Boni, Filius,
 Johannis Winthropi Magni, Nepos.
 Didicit, ab illo Præstare Bona, ab hoc Magna.
 Pater Patriæ: Vivus, Connecticutæ Delicium; Mortuus, Desiderium.

¹ The translator has clearly made a mistake in the dates of the birth and death, by not allowing for the Old Style, used in the Latin original, and agreeably to which the year commenced in March. December should be February (1641-2), and September should be November.

XIV.

PERCIVAL LOWELL'S ELEGY ON GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

(Referred to on p. 399.)

A FUNERAL ELEGIE

(Written many years since)

ON THE DEATH OF THE MEMORABLE AND TRULY HONOURABLE
JOHN WINTHROPESQ:Governour of the Massachusetts Colony in *N-England* For the space of 19 years, who died in the
63d. Year of his Age, *March 26. 1649*

You English *Mattachusians* all
 Forbear sometime from sleeping,
 Let every one both great and small
 Prepare themselves for weeping.
 For he is gone that was our freind,
 This Tyrant Death hath wrought his end.
 Who was the very Chief among
 The chiefest of our Peers
 Who hath in peace maintain'd us long
 The space of nineteen years,
 And now hee's breathless, lifeless, dead,
 Cold earth is now become his bed.
 The Jews did for their *Moses* weep
 Who was their Gubernator,
 Let us for *Winthroe* do the like,
 Who was our Conservator
 With Lines of gold in Marble stone
 With pens of steel engrave his name
 O let the Muses every one
 In prose and Verse extol his Fame,
 Exceeding far those ancient Sages
 That ruled *Greeks* in former Ages.
 O spightfull Death and also cruel
 Thou hast quite slain *New Englands Jewel*:
 Shew us vile *Tyrant* if thou can
 Tel where to find out such a man?
 Methinks I hear a spirit breathe
Non est inventus here beneath.
 He was (we furely may say this)
Rara avis in terris,

Therefore let us give him his due,
 To him is due this stile,
 He was an *Israelite* full true
 Without all fraud or guile.
 Let *Winthrops* name still famous be,
 With us and our Posterity.
 What goods he had he did not spare,
 The Church and Commonwealth
 Had of his Goods the greatest share,
 Kept nothing for himself.
 My tongue, my pen, my rustick art
 Cannot express his true desert.
 The nature of the Pelican
 Read storyes what they say,
 To her I would compare this man
 If lawfully I may.
 To *Moses* meek, to *Abraham*,
 To *Joseph* and to *Jonathan*.
 He was *New-Englands* Pelican
New-Englands Gubernator
 He was *New-Englands* *Solomon*
New-Englands Conservator.
 Time and Experience the best tryal,
 These two admit of no denial:
 Let nineteen yeares then witness be
 Of *Winthrops* true sincerity.
 Such gifts of grace from God had he,
 That more than man he seem'd to be.
 But now hee's gone and clad in clay,
 Grim Death hath taken him away.
 Death like a murth'ring Jesuite
 Hath rob'd us of our hearts delight.
 Let's shew our love to him by weeping
 That car'd for us when we lay sleeping
 O that our dry eyes fountains were,
 Our heads a living spring,
 O that our sighs the clouds could tear,
 And make an eccho ring:
 Let us fit down in sorrow fel,
 And now with tears ring out his knel.
 Bright shining *Phœbus* hide thy face
 Let misty clouds make dark thy sky,
 Fair *Cynthia* count it no disgrace
 To aid us with thy weeping eye.
 O weep with us for *Joshua*
 The Loadstone of *America*.
 My fences they are all too weak
 His praises due to write or speak

Now I must leave it to their skill
 Who can endite and write at will.
 New-England thou hast cause to mourn,
 For that thy special friend is gone,
 Yet see you mourn with moderation,
 No cause you have of Desparation,
 They yet survive who may renew
 Decay'd and dying hopes in you
 With honour due let us respect them,
 No cause we have for to reject them,
 They are to us as true Directors
 And under God our chief Protectors.

Here you have *Lowells* loyalty,
 Pen'd with his slender skill
 And with it no good poetry,
 Yet certainly good will.
 Read these few verses willingly,
 And view them not with *Momus* eye,
 Friendly correct what is amiss,
 Accept his love that did write this.

Perciful Lowle.

XV.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JOHN HAYNES, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

(Referred to on p. 400.)

"SIR, — I had not a season before this present, to return you thanks for your courteous lettre & newes, somme time since sent mee, neither had I oportunity to condole with you, that sad losse of yours in particuler, & of all in generall, of that worthy servaunt of Christ, & great instrument of soe much good in these Western parts (your deare ffather,) who served worthily in his generation, fallen asleepe, & now at rest. The memorial of the righteous is blessed, &c. The Lord shew us what Hee calls for in these great breaches in Church & State with us.

"Hartford, this 18th of the 3^d mo. 1649."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF WILLIAM CODDINGTON, GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND, TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

“WORTHY SIR, — I haue ever sence I came ashoer,¹ waited for an oportunitie to salute you & yours; but I have not had it till nowe, God haveing taken to himselfe your aged faither, my indeared frind. Wee toucke a very soleme leave one of an other, twice weeping at our parting, which did presage to me that wee should neuer see one an other in this life. Now, Sir, you are his eldest sonn & haire, and therefore I desire that muteall love and frindshipec might bee continued betweene us. Thy frind & thy faither’s frind forsake thou not.

“From New Lodge in Newport, Ffeb. 19th, 1651.”

¹ Coddington had recently arrived from England, after an absence of two years and a half.

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